

IN THESE TIMES

**Bad
Manners**
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Jon Birnbaum

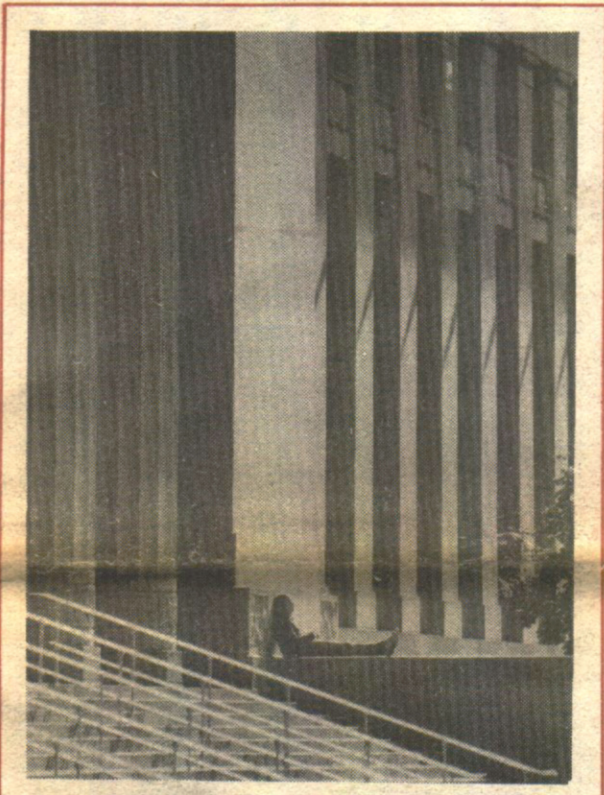
Vol. 3, No. 44

October 3-9, 1979

70 Cents

Universities face the 80s

*Gintis, Cruse, Strobel,
Katz and others on
higher education
today.*



Steve Kagan

UNMAKING THE PRESIDENT

*Kennedy draft threatens
to blow Carter away*



Syd Harris

THE INSIDE STORY



Pope faces mixed U.S. reception for his social policies

By Joe Holland

Pope John Paul II's seven day tour of the United States, beginning Oct. 1, will end with two days in Washington, D.C. after stops at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Des Moines, Iowa, and Chicago.

The occasion for his visit is an invitation by United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to address the UN General Assembly, something Pope Paul VI did in 1965. Different from Paul's visit, which was mainly focused on the UN and where he gave his famous speech against war and in favor of the Third World, this visit relegates the UN to the background and focuses on the American Church.

The visit complements the new Polish pope's two other journeys—one to Mexico, where he addressed the social and spiritual role of the Third World, including a growing Catholic rapprochement with Marxism in Latin America—and the other to Poland, where he addressed social and religious problems of the Second World, especially the curtailment of religious and other freedoms under Communist states.

The paradox is that in both worlds—the capitalist periphery of Latin America and the Communist bloc of Eastern Europe—the Catholic church is harassed and even suppressed. In both worlds, the finest of church leaders are looked to by intellectual dissidents, workers and peasants for protection against an oppressive state.

In both worlds, as well, a new church is being born.

In Latin America, important sectors of the Church are making a deliberate voyage to become part of the poor and oppressed and to suffer and struggle with them.

The revolutionary government of Nicaragua, for

This week's edition of IN THESE TIMES is only 16 pages. For the present, we will publish 16 pages and 24 pages on alternate weeks as an economy measure designed to enable us to save money. We plan to use these savings to promote the paper more heavily, so that we can double our present paid circulation of 18,500 by the end of 1980.

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example, includes two priests among its cabinet ministers—Ernesto Cardenal, a poet and minister of culture, and Miguel D'Escoto, a Maryknoll priest and foreign minister.

In Eastern Europe, the Church is increasingly oriented toward the working class. Ironically, communist religious discrimination, which bars publicly practicing Catholics from Communist Party membership, prevents them from entering the universities and keeps them from obtaining middle and upper income jobs, is driving committed Catholics into the working class. At the same time, the upward mobility offered by party membership is detaching the communist parties from their original working class linkages. Thus, in the "workers states," the party grows distant from the workers while the Church gets closer.

In some places like Poland, it is now mainly a matter of harassment against Catholics. But in more oppressive areas like Lithuania, there is still imprisonment of committed Catholics.

The Pope's visit to the U.S. gives him the opportunity to address the distinct social and religious problems of the First World, in its most powerful and rich industrial capitalist nation.

No one knows, of course, what he will say. But it may be helpful to review what he has said on other occasions about the industrial, capitalist West.

He has spoken of the spiritual decadence of the West and of its immersion in materialism. Whatever his critique of Communist states, it seems he is no admirer of the culture of advanced capitalism.

This visit, however, may be marked with more difficulties than the other two. While the overwhelming response will be positive, with some of the largest crowds in American history assembling, he may run into protests or at least public criticisms—something he did not experience in Mexico and Poland. There, even the Communists were polite.

First, there are already legal objections on the grounds of church and state separation over the religious use of public facilities. This doesn't seem to be a serious problem, however. More important is that he will not visit the West or Southwest U.S., which is the country's demographic center for Hispanic Catholicism—representing perhaps one fourth of the American Church's membership.

John Paul has promised to go to the West and Southwest soon on a second U.S. trip, but Mexican-Americans, who are now the most dynamic ethnic group of American Catholics, still are slighted by this one. John Paul's greatest difficulty, however, will undoubtedly be on the issue of sexism.

The Vatican has already forbidden women to distribute communion at papal masses, something that is normal practice in many American parishes. He will also be under strong pressure to address the abortion issue, especially on Oct. 7 at Washington—"Respect Life Sunday" as designated by U.S. Church hierarchy. The abortion issue, with the American hierarchy's aggressive role, has become the Middle East of American Catholic politics.

On the positive side, the Pope has made it clear he wants to visit the poor wherever he goes.

In New York, he will probably make visits to the heavily Puerto Rican South Bronx and Harlem. But contrary to his populist style, the mass scheduled for the Washington mall is to be surrounded by a chain link fence separating 1,500 special guests from the rest of the crowd. That runs against John Paul's style of being open to everyone. In his quick open car rides among crowds at St. Peter's Square in Rome, he has abandoned the papal limousine and papal chair, opting for a white jeep, reportedly letting local children climb in with him.

Finally, it will be interesting to see what the Pope will say specifically to the American Catholic Church. It is now in a profound *transition period of its own*, out of what has been called the "immigrant church" and into a new historical form. The immigrant church maintained good working class linkages, saw candidates to the priesthood and religious life multiply, became financially powerful, built up a powerful alternative school system and created probably the strongest national Catholic institutional structure in the world.

The post-immigrant church, which coincides with the wider transnational post-Vatican II church as well as with the present structural crisis of capitalism, is a different animal, although there is still no consensus on what paths it should follow.

On the negative side, the Church can no longer count on the automatic loyalty of coming generations. It is developing a middle class style (except for the large Hispanic sector). In some areas, this alienates labor unions. Candidates for the priesthood and religious orders are far fewer, and some orders of women are practically on a path to extinction.

On the positive side, there is a new and broad social action movement that is becoming more radical. There are abundant new lay ministries, such that the post-immigrant church may take on a lay style. And there is a powerful spiritual and artistic renewal, expressed especially in new prayers and new music.

What the pope will say of this shift, if anything, could tell us which set of advisors he looks to in the U.S.

ITT correspondent is jailed in Israel

An Israeli army officer who served as an IN THESE TIMES correspondent last year was sentenced Sept. 25 to two weeks in jail after refusing a military assignment in Israeli occupied territory.

Army civil defense branch lieutenant Gidion Eshet, who also was an economics reporter for the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot*, refused to serve at an Israeli army post at a bridge crossing over the Jordan River between the West Bank and Jordan.

Eshet, who said his refusal was based on political beliefs, told senior Israeli officers he was willing to defend Israel, but not to participate in further occupation of Palestinian people's land.

Eshet's conviction could signal a change in policy by the army. Several soldiers who refused to serve in occupied territories in 1973 and 1974 were sentenced to jail for up to three months.

But since then, the army has apparently been willing to quietly agree to alternative assignments for protesting troops—estimated at several hundred. It is not known whether the new policy will apply to them as well.

Eshet has written an appeal to Israeli army chief of staff Lt. Gen. Rafael Eitan, who has been under attack for reducing the sentence of another army lieutenant.

The officer was convicted of murdering four civilians during Israel's spring occupation of South Lebanon in 1978. Eitan lowered his sentence from eight to two years.

Israeli peace groups are discussing further politicization of the military occupation issue, including mass signature by soldiers of a letter of refusal to serve in the territories.

—David Mandel

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Kennedy hint warms draft movement

By John Judis

IN RETROSPECT, ONE CAN SEE THE signs of an impending candidacy: the fall 1978 trip to New Hampshire, the April meeting with New York Attorney General Robert Abrams and his aide Ethan Geto after which, despite formal disavowals, Abrams and Geto began assembling a campaign in New York, the indication to the *Boston Globe* in June that he would "probably run" if Pres. Carter dropped out of the race; the July presentation, with New Hampshire Sen. John Durkin at his side, of an alternative to Carter's energy program. All these gestures, however, were adorned with what came to be known as his "expect/expect/intend" speech.

Then in early September, Sen. Edward M. "Ted" Kennedy made his intentions known. On Sept. 7, he had lunch with Pres. Carter. That afternoon, he let it get out that his mother and estranged wife had given their blessing to a possible campaign in 1980. And he departed from his usual disavowal to say that although he expected to support Carter, he was "very much concerned about the direction the country is going in and the state of our economy."

The next week Kennedy gave interviews to the national media, as well as to the *Des Moines Register*, in which he presented himself as an alternative to Carter and admitted that he was considering a run for the presidency. In Washington, New York, and Illinois, old Kennedy family lieutenants like Paul Kirk and Thomas Tully have begun working behind the scenes. And Kennedy accepted Secret Service protection, which is usually reserved for declared candidates.

Kennedy will not declare his candidacy until after he and Carter dedicate the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston Oct. 21. From current indications, it should then only be a matter of weeks before he is formally in the race.

Both prior to and in the aftermath of Sept. 7, Kennedy has made clear his dif-



Iowa Machinists official Bill Fenton, national Machinist organizer Marjorie Phye, and Iowa AFL-CIO official Roger Millang discuss draft-Kennedy strategy at the Back Door, Sept. 22.

ferences with Carter. On energy, Kennedy favors an emphasis on conservation rather than synthetic fuel production and a two-year moratorium on nuclear plant construction. He favors reinstituting price controls on oil and gas. He prefers his own comprehensive national health insurance to Carter's catastrophic health insurance. And he would use wage-price guidelines to fight price as well as wage increases.

Kennedy supported Carter's recent proposal of a 3 percent real increase in defense spending against a proposal for a 5 percent increase, but he claims that he would cancel the plans for the M-X missile and a new aircraft carrier. And through his opposition to the sale of jets to the Saudis he has indicated he would pursue a more pro-Israeli policy than Carter has.

But Kennedy has also downplayed this difference as he moves toward the presidency. After the Dec. 1978 Democratic Midterm Convention in Memphis, Kennedy reacted sharply to Carter's claim that their political differences were "only minor." They were "fundamental and rather basic," according to Kennedy. But in the following weeks Kennedy has emphasized that leadership not policy is the main difference between him and Carter. He has even implied a changed attitude toward government spending. "The approaches to the problems of the 1980s are necessarily different from the approaches to the problems of the 1960s," he told the *New York Times*' James Reston.

Such a shift is typical of presidential aspirants. Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 and Richard Nixon in 1968, running

against candidates with manifestly unpopular policies, downplayed political differences in favor of style and the usual campaign rhetoric.

Kennedy draft.

Kennedy's decision to run was largely the result of Carter's abysmal showing in opinion polls (his Sept. 19 approval was the lowest presidential polls have ever registered) and a recognition that worsening recession will further diminish Carter's popularity. But Kennedy was also moved by pressure from two traditional Democratic sources.

Democratic officials and officeholders, from county leaders to senators, have viewed Kennedy's candidacy as the only way of reversing a trend toward Republican control of statehouses and possibly even the Senate. In 1978, Republicans gained control of seven new statehouses and won key Senate contests against Democratic incumbents in New Hampshire, Maine, Minnesota, Colorado, and Iowa. Next year, 24 Democratic Senators but only 10 Republicans are up for re-election; 14 Democrats but only three Republicans are running in unsafe states. According to Washington analyst Alan Baron, if the 1978 trend prevails, the Republicans could end up with a 51-49 edge in the U.S. Senate. Strom Thurmond would assume control of the Judiciary Committee, Jesse Helms of Agriculture, and Orrin "right-to-work" Hatch of Labor and Human Resources.

Vulnerable Democrats like George McGovern, Alan Cranston, John Durkin, and John Culver, as well as state officials like New Hampshire's Dudley Dudley, Florida's Michael Abrams, and New York's Robert Abrams and Andrew Stein have been urging Kennedy to run.

These officials have been joined by William Winpisinger's Machinists Union, which broke with Carter last fall over natural gas deregulation, and by other labor officials. In July, Winpisinger, along with Building Trades Officials Vic Kamber and Robert Georgine and Laborer's Union counsel Jules Bernstein, launched a national mailing and a clearing house for a draft-Kennedy campaign.

During the summer, draft-Kennedy organizations sprung up in 30 states. In some states, like Iowa and Illinois, the initial impetus came from labor; in others like New Hampshire or Florida, it came from party officials; in still others, like California or Minnesota, it came

Continued on page 13.

Iowa campaign comes through Back Door

In Iowa, it all began in the Back Door, a dim-lit noisy bar in Des Moines, where local labor officials like to congregate on weekends and evenings. On a wintry evening last January at their favorite table, Machinists' International Representative Bill Fenton, local AFL-CIO officials Percy Chapin and Roger Millang, state AFL-CIO vice-president Don Rowan and a few others hatched the draft-Kennedy campaign.

According to Fenton, they were immediately motivated by Iowa's Republican state legislature, which was in process of cutting the state's unemployment compensation benefits. They didn't want Republican control of the state house to continue. And they also didn't want Democratic Sen. John Culver to suffer the same fate as Sen. Dick Clark, who had been beaten by a right-wing Republican in 1978. "We realized people wouldn't come out and vote if Carter ran," Fenton said. "We had to get ourselves a viable candidate on the top of the ticket."

The labor leaders organized a Kennedy meeting for March 31, which ended up attracting 100 labor and party officials. They included a UAW representative, who was originally told by the union leadership that he could not attend.

A draft-Kennedy organization was set up with Fenton as co-chair. In August, they succeeded in getting through the state AFL-CIO an anti-Carter, pro-Kennedy resolution. Some who supported the resolution came from unions like AFSCME that were still nominally supporting Carter. Since Sept. 7 they have been deluged with statewide requests for meetings.

The object of these meetings is to win delegates for Kennedy at the Jan. 21 Iowa caucuses. Iowa's 41 delegates to the National Convention will be apportioned on the basis of votes at the evening caucus meetings, which are expected to attract about 100,000 Iowa Democrats.

On Sat. Sept. 22, Machinists national organizer Marjorie Phye came to Des Moines to lead a workshop on delegate selection for union members. At the workshop, Phye emphasized the importance of getting labor delegates (in 1976, 49 percent of Iowa's delegation came from labor), but she warned that labor would have to form slates with other groups.

Phye was especially concerned that labor people understood the rule that required at least half women in the delegations. "If labor women don't become delegates," she said, "it will be rich women who can afford to fly



Iowa AFL-CIO V-P Don Rowan.

into New York and stay at Fancy hotels."

After the workshop, Phye, Fenton, Millang, Chapin, and Rowan retired to the Back Door. According to Rowan, Millang, and Chapin, the basic difference between Carter and Kennedy was not policy, but leadership. Carter had originally supported labor law reform and regulation of oil and gas prices, but he couldn't get them adopted. Rowan thought that ever since "Johnson had gotten screwed up by the war, there hadn't been any presidential leadership."

He said he almost didn't care what the president stood for. "I want a president who can tell people to drive only ten miles a day and have them listen and not laugh at him," he said.

—John Judis

UNION WOMEN

CLUW convention reflects growth

By Joanna Foley

“WOMEN WILL NOT achieve equality in the workplace without the collective strength of unions behind them,” Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, told nearly 1,000 members and supporters at CLUW's first biennial convention, Sept. 13-16 in New York. Women trade unionists from 45 international unions and over 50 foreign countries attended.

Replete with a lively rally, midnight caucuses, workshops and speeches by visiting dignitaries, CLUW's fourth annual gathering was better organized than many labor groups that have been around far longer. There were also innovative CLUW touches. A child care local staffed the convention day care center. A nursing mother, handing her infant to a friend, strode to the microphone to speak. And Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D.-Md.) told the delegates, “It's terrific to have a sister heading an organization. Joyce Miller didn't mind my midnight call when the hotel gave away my room. Can you imagine calling George Meany with that problem?”

A major theme of the meeting was organizing the unorganized. Only 6 million of 40 million working women are organized. CLUW, a coalition of women from various unions, doesn't organize on its own, but CLUW chapters do leaflet and raise funds to support union

organizing drives.

In the workshop on equal pay for jobs of comparable worth, Dorothy Haener of the UAW said that unions must press beyond equal pay for equal work to give pay equity to women concentrated in traditional jobs. “Although upward mobility is needed for women,” she said, “we shouldn't direct all our energies into fighting each other for the limited number of higher positions that are available.”

CLUW's successes.

In 1974, when 3200 women gathered in Chicago in response to the call from a few women union leaders, CLUW became the first women's trade unionist organization since the Women's Trade Union League expired in 1951. Women workers had made so little progress that CLUW shared many of the WTUL's goals from the turn of the century. It called for more organizing of women workers and a greater voice for women within all the top councils of labor.

CLUW speaks for women in the house of labor and as the advocate for labor in the women's movement. Led by veteran women trade unionists, CLUW now has 8,000 members in 26 chapters. While serving as a bridge between labor and feminists, it occasionally gets criticized from both sides. At first male labor leaders suspected dual unionism while feminists feared that the group would deflect criticism from unions.

But in an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, Joyce Miller said that an indication of their success is demonstrated

COALITION OF
LABOR UNION
WOMENSUPPORT
THE A&S
ORGANIZING
DRIVE

Joyce Miller, President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

by AFL-CIO support of the boycott against states that have not ratified the ERA. “The Federation complied with our request to move its convention from Florida,” she said, “and individual unions are following suit.”

One measure of CLUW's success after five years was the parade of prominent labor leaders, feminists and politicians who addressed the convention. Tom Donahue, Meany's assistant, and Bill Lucy of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists brought labor's good wishes. Donahue praised CLUW's contribution to the “revitalization of the labor movement.” Lucy declared, “We stand shoulder to shoulder with you in the struggle to end sexual harassment and to pass the ERA.”

Feminist speakers included Eleanor Holmes Norton of the EEOC, Bella Abzug, Rep. Liz Holtzman (D.-NY), Elizabeth Duncan Koontz of the

National Commission on Working Women and Carmen Delgado Votaw.

CLUW's convention resolutions received serious attention and occasional heated debate. This year's resolution on health care was particularly important, according to Naomi Baden of the CLUW staff. It rejected the administration's proposal, which is limited to catastrophic coverage.

All CLUW officers also hold important union staff positions, although many came up through the ranks. Despite possible conflicts between staff members and rank and file women, almost none surfaced at the convention. The officers were reelected by acclamation and cheered with standing ovations.

CLUW's 1979-1981 officers are: president Joyce Miller (ACTWU), executive vice president Addie Wyatt (Retail Clerks and Food Workers, formerly AMC & BW), first vice president Georgie McGhee (AFSCME), second vice president Clara Day (IBT), treasurer Gloria Johnson (IUE), corresponding secretary Odessa Komer (UAW), recording secretary Patsy Fryman (CWA) and president emerita Olga Madar (UAW). Two new vice presidents are Pat Halpin of AFT and Gwen Newton of OPEIU.

Strong rank and file sentiment asserted itself on the question of who may become a CLUW member. A motion to permit labor attorneys to join was defeated. Along with labor educators and other supporters, they may join the new separate support groups called “CLUW Associates” which were authorized at the convention.

CLUW's black participation is impressive. Four of its national officers are black as well as one third of the National Executive Board. Miller says the group tries to set an example of affirmative action for others. Although Hispanic women were less visible, the New York chapter has a sizeable Latina membership, according to Rubye Jones of ILWGU. “They had their own priorities this weekend,” she said. “They're organizing for hurricane relief in the Dominican Republic and to protest the murder of a woman trade unionist in another country.”

The interracial sisterhood was marred by one brief incident near the close of the convention. A memo from past president Olga Madar urged the delegates to protest against the NAACP scheduling its convention for an unratified ERA state. Also included was a newsclip about NAACP support for the Palestinians which puzzled many delegates because it had no obvious connection to the convention site problem.

Minority women believed that the group should let them take the lead in educating the NAACP about the boycott just as union women have taken the lead in educating union men; CLUW leaders agreed. “Why are we making the NAACP an issue when we have not yet gotten the house of labor in order?” asked Louise Smothers of AFGE, speaking for the minority women's committee.

OIL PRICES

Protests are planned for Oct. 17

By David Moberg

HIGH OIL PRICES, SUSPICIONS about the powerful energy corporations and fears of nuclear dangers are bring out a plethora of demonstrators all over the country this fall. Energy discontent is generating a range of protest that hasn't been seen since the anti-war days of the early '70s, although it is less intense and the confrontation less raw.

Over 200,000 people rallied in New York's Battery Park on Sept. 23 to hear famous political figures and entertainers speak out against nuclear power. On the same day a smaller group protested nuclear power at the Vermont Yankee generating plant at Vernon, Vt., and 167 people were reported arrested after they crossed into forbidden territory around the plant. Last weekend demonstrations were scheduled at the four major nuclear waste storage or treatment sites—West Valley, N.Y., Barnwell, S.C., Hanford, Washington and the Waste Isolation Pilot Project in New Mexico.

Yet nuclear dangers are not all that upset people. The anti-nuclear demonstrators are heavily drawn from the young, well-educated and financially comfortable, but the demonstrators against higher oil prices throughout the country on Oct. 17 are also likely to include large numbers of blue-collar workers, retired people and hard-pressed families who have joined state and community citizen action groups.

There will probably be little overlap of organizations between the anti-nuclear protests and the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices, although many of the leading figures—such as Ralph Nader—are active in both efforts. Many organizers hope that the two fronts of

the assault on the energy policies of the nation—and particularly the Carter administration—soon may converge. That may take greater agreement on an alternative energy program in addition to the criticisms of current pricing or nuclear policy.

The Oct. 17 demonstrations will demand price controls on oil, natural gas and fuel oil, a special prosecutor to investigate the oil companies, presidential authority to force refineries to operate at full capacity when needed, federal government control of oil imports and formation of an independent public oil and gas producing company.

Energy Action, a research and lobbying group that is part of the Campaign, gave the Oct. 17 demonstration new ammunition in the fight to re-establish oil price controls with a newly released study. It shows that 23 large U.S. oil companies will see their oil reserves increase in value by over \$300 billion if the price of oil is around \$20 a barrel, and by over \$424 billion if the prices goes to \$25.

Energy Action calculates that the 23 companies' 1978 crude oil revenues of \$17 billion would increase by \$25 billion at the \$20 price. That increase is \$4 billion more than the total U.S. energy bill in 1970. It would represent a cost of between \$1,500 and 2,000 for every person just for the decontrolled oil in proven reserves.

“We are trying to make price controls a real question fought over this year,” Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition executive director Heather Booth says. She stresses, “We are not building a one-day event, but a coalition.” The coalition now has 20 staff workers and, Booth says, a far greater depth of participation from member organizations.

The actions in over 45 cities, concentrated in 20 states where the Coalition or Progressive Alliance has

strong support, will involve many unions. Among the most active are the Machinists, the Auto Workers, the Service Employees and, in various areas, such unions as the Retail Clerks, the building trades unions and the Steelworkers. The National Council of Senior Citizens, often a low-key organization, is throwing its energy into the mobilization, especially the Washington, D.C. picketing of the American Petroleum Institute. Many statewide citizen groups, such as Ohio Public Interest Campaign, Illinois Public Action Council and (Massachusetts) Fair Share are becoming more involved in energy issues as a result of the coalition work for the demonstration.

The actions will range from pray-ins and teach-ins to press conferences and rallies, with the biggest expected in Chicago—where Jane Fonda will speak, Cleveland—featuring Mayor Dennis Kucinich, Boston and Washington, D.C. There will be some special actions, such as cab drivers in Chicago's Loop handing out the campaign's “Big Oil Discredit Cards” to their customers or a “Honk-In” by drivers in Concord, N.H.

Although the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices does not yet claim the impassioned support and the sense of being a “movement” that sustains the opposition to nuclear power, it does have the potential in the words of one organizer to “re-establish working-class based protest” as a highly politicized vehicle with majority support. Unions have been rattled out of their narrow focus in some cases and alliances have been struck that would have been impossible a few years ago. It is even possible that labor-based opposition to higher energy prices and the more middle class anti-nuclear movement will be able to demonstrate together within a few years or less.

PHAM VAN DONG INTERVIEW

Vietnamese prepare for attack

By Wilfred Burchett

HAVANA

VETNAMESE PRIME MINISTER Pham Van Dong is the only survivor (physically or in office) of the 1955 Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries, which was the predecessor of the Non-Aligned Movement. In the twenty-four years between Bandung and the Sixth Summit of Non-Aligned Countries and Movements held Sept. 3-6 in Havana, Pham Van Dong's hair has turned snow-white, he walks a little stiffly, but his mind is as bright as ever.

At a crucial moment in the Summit debate over who should occupy Kampuchea's seat—the China-backed ousted regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary or the Vietnamese-backed regime of Heng Samrin—Peking decided to take a hand in the matter. The Chinese government announced that it would continue its full support for the Pol Pot forces and that a new United Front was to be established "probably under the leadership of Sihanouk." (In announcing this the BBC Southeast Asia correspondent commented that it was difficult to see how this could come about, given the firmness with which Sihanouk had denounced the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and his announced intention of setting up a government-in-exile in Pyongyang. Sihanouk added to the confusion a few days later by announcing that he would set up a new United Front in Brussels sometime in October.)

The day after the Peking announcement it was reported that China had massed half a million troops along Vietnam's northern frontier and had also

It's certain that China is preparing a "second lesson," says the Prime Minister.

built up its forces along the frontier with Laos. These reports aroused considerable concern among Vietnam's well-wishers at the Havana Conference. But Pham Van Dong appeared to take it all calmly.

Over a leisurely dinner in the palm-surrounded villa the Cuban government had placed at his disposal—it could have been in Vietnam as far as the lush vegetation was concerned—Pham Van Dong said he believed China was preparing a "second lesson." "It is absolutely certain that they will try it," he said. Tomorrow, next month, next year, in five years or 20 years—we can only say with certainty that unless there is a change in Peking's leadership, they will make a second and perhaps more attempts to 'teach us a lesson.'

"They tried in February," he continued, "and the world knows who taught who a lesson. We have been giving China lessons of this sort throughout our history. But we are not fools enough to seek war with China. If they want a second lesson this time they will get one."

He confirmed that Vietnam had been



Wilfred Burchett and Pham Van Dong.

caught by surprise by the timing and scope of the massive Chinese attack Feb. 17. The fire-power available to the front-line defenders was not nearly as strong as it should have been. "Next time the Chinese will find us well prepared at all levels," he said, "but the initiative will not be ours."

At a press conference a couple of days after our dinner conversation Pham Van Dong was asked about a possible role for Sihanouk in today's Kampuchea. "Sihanouk is a prince," he replied, "and he remains a prince. He wants to do many things. But what has happened in Kampuchea is irreversible. The destiny of the Kampuchean people is in their own hands. No-one can change this. Not Sihanouk. Not Peking. Not the USA. Not you and me." This was the clearest write-off for a Sihanouk comeback I

have heard.

Only a few months ago Vietnamese leaders were expressing the private hope that Sihanouk would make approaches to the Heng Samrin regime, in which case a role could be found for him.

Pham Van Dong regarded the summit meeting as an "immense success." The support Vietnam found from African and Latin American countries "exceeded all our expectations." Considering that at the Belgrade foreign ministers' conference only 14 months earlier, the Pol Pot delegation tried to get Vietnam excluded from the Movement and that at Havana only four could be found willing to speak up against the denial of Kampuchea's seat to the Pol Pot delegation—which means its virtual exclusion, Pham Van Dong had good reason for exuberance as he left Havana.

LETELIER-MOFFITT



Ana Rojas Castaneda and Sola Sierra Henriquez, of the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared in Chile received the Human Rights award for Ana Gonzalez, who is in jail in Santiago.

Memorial meeting calls for extradition

By Peter Kornbluh

"WE WANTED TO DO something positive with our tears" explained Isabel Letelier referring to the origins of the Letelier-Moffitt Memorial for Human Rights. Commemorating the third anniversary of the assassination of former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and his colleague at the Institute for Policy Studies, Ronni Karpman Moffitt, the Human Rights Award ceremony was held last week at Howard University in Washington D.C.

The awards, established in 1977 by the

Institute for Policy Studies to honor the memory of Letelier and Moffitt and their dedication to the world struggle for human rights, were presented this year to the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared in Chile and to Alfred "Skip" Robinson, founder and president of the United League of Mississippi. In accepting the specially designed bronze medals bearing the words "Justice, Peace, Dignity," the recipients all stressed the connections between work for human rights within the U.S. and in the rest of the world.

Robinson, being honored for a lifetime of grass roots organizing of blacks in Mississippi around their economic and social rights, received the domestic award.

A former carpenter who speaks with a rising intonation reminiscent of Martin Luther King, Robinson told the audience of 500 of the efforts of the United League to organize southern blacks around the issues of land retention for farmers and jobs. Robinson also spoke of the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and police officials who support the Klan, drawing a parallel between the non-existence of legal justice in the south of the U.S. and in Chile. Echoing the theme of the evening, Robinson said that "all struggles should tie together all over the world."

Accepting the award for the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared in Chile—a group of women that has grown into one of the most intransigent and courageous opponents of the Pinochet regime—were Ana Rojas Castaneda, 54, and Sola Sierra Henriquez, 43. The two women are risking reprisals by the military authorities for having come from Chile to the U.S. to receive the award. During their brief stay in the U.S. they intend to publicize the plight of an estimated 2,500 persons who have been arrested by security forces in Chile and subsequently disappeared.

Sierra was a last minute replacement for Ana Gonzalez who was originally selected to come. Gonzalez, whose husband, two sons and daughter-in-law are among the disappeared in Chile, was arrested along with 34 other persons for participating in one of a dozen hunger strikes organized by the Association at the beginning of September. Among the demands of the strikers was that the Pinochet regime "tell us where they [the disappeared] are."

Speaking for the Association, Sierra quietly denounced the Chilean government for its "methods of terror and repression and ridicule of human dignity." She urged that in the memories of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt "we should continue to fight for freedom for so many patriots still held in Chilean jails, for the answer to the whereabouts of the disappeared and for justice for the martyrs of Lonquén."

Rep. Toby Moffett, D-Conn., afforded

the audience an insiders view of the government apparatus. Presenting a realistic opinion of the Congress and the future of human rights policy, he recalled that when the Letelier car was blown up in Sheridan Circle, conservative members of the House had blocked a simple resolution of remorse. One representative said to Moffett, "That's what they should do to communists anyway."

Knowledgeable observers in Washington also doubt that the Chilean Supreme Court, whose decision is due this week, will order extradition of three DINA agents to the U.S. Considering this probability, Peter Weiss, Chairperson of the Board of Trustees at the Institute for Policy Studies and a specialist in international and human rights law, argued for sanctions against the Pinochet regime because of its international terrorist activities. The internal and "extraterritorial atrocities" committed by that regime "violates every aspect of the UN charter," Weiss said.

On the question of what the U.S. should do when Chile refuses to comply with the extradition request, Michael Moffitt, sole survivor of the bombing three years ago, demanded that "President Carter's administration take all necessary steps—including the suspension of private U.S. bank loans to the Chilean government—to ensure that the extradition request is complied with."

Telegrams of support from Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, and Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, were read. Kennedy sent his "deepest personal sympathies" to Isabel Letelier and Michael Moffitt and reaffirmed his commitment "to see that those responsible for these murders are brought to justice."

The evenings performers—the South African Art and Theatre Ensemble, six black South Africans who now live in exile in the U.S., and Rumisonko, an Andean folk music group—added to the international feeling of the evening.

IRAN



The Khomeini regime seeks to impose Islamic orthodoxy

By Fred Halliday

“THESE COMMUNISTS ARE against religion, and against Imam Khomeini. They are getting money from abroad, from the U.S.A., Russia, Israel. They must be stopped.” The young militants of the Islamic right, shouting “Allah is Great,” as they threw stones and pieces of wood at the protesting demonstrators, were crowding around me. For them, the time had come to stamp out all critics of Khomeini and by attacking a left-wing demonstration, called to protest press censorship. They claimed to be defending the Islamic character of Iran’s new revolutionary republic.

A few days beforehand I had been an unintentional witness of the event that sparked the latest round of clashes in Tehran’s troubled streets. Arriving for a 2:00 p.m. appointment at the offices of the opposition daily *Ayandegan*, whose circulation had risen to above 100,000 after it defeated an earlier attempt by Khomeini to stop it from publishing, I found both staircases to the paper’s offices manned by teenage armed guards carrying U.S. and Israeli weaponry. After first trying to tell me that there was no one in at that time, they proceeded to denounce the editors of the paper as “traitors” and “renegades,” and to reveal that they had temporarily seized the whole staff of the paper on the orders of the Revolutionary Council.

Later I learned that at least four other papers also had been closed, among them the weekly satirical paper *Ahangar* (*The Blacksmith*) and a breakaway from the pro-Khomeini daily *Kayhan* called *Free Kayhan*, which had brought out only one issue. Under the new press law most other critical publications are also likely to be shut down, and twelve of the journalists working in the editorial committee of *Ayandegan* were later arrested and charged with being agents of a foreign power.

For the first time since Khomeini’s forces came to power, the left did not meekly accept the provocations of the Muslim right, but fought back. Their main slogans, “Death to Fascism” and “Down with Censorship,” signalled an aroused sense of resistance.

Apart from the Tudeh or Communist Party, which supports Khomeini’s policies and which endorsed the closure

of *Ayandegan*, all left wing parties see the attack on press freedom as a prelude to a greater attack on themselves. For weeks offices and bookshops belonging to the opposition have been attacked in provincial towns, and, following the march against the closure of *Ayandegan*, the headquarters of the Fedayin of the People guerrillas were sacked and partly burned by right-wing crowds.

One of the issues that brought matters to a head were the elections on August 3 for the Council of Experts to discuss the constitutions. The manner in which these were organised was so evidently unfair that most opposition parties, including that led by the influential Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, boycotted them, and the press gave prominent coverage to the protests. The small number of seats ensured that few dissident candidates got in, and in some towns religious leaders pronounced *fatwas* or Islamic injunctions telling the people which way to vote. Illiterate voters—over 70 percent of the total—were often given ballot-papers already marked up with the names of pro-Khomeini candidates.

The move against the press began four days after these elections. Since then, Government ministers I spoke to, including Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi and Khomeini’s Economics Advisers Abol-Hassan Bani-Sadr, insisted that the left had played no part in the overthrow of the Shah’s government and that they were now working to undermine the revolution. For Bani-Sadr the troubles in the factories, and in the Kurdish and Arab areas, were the work of left-wing agitators. Yazdi, for his part, was convinced that the opposition press and in particular *Ayandegan* was being manipulated by U.S. and Israeli interests and argued that critical reports of the government amounted to “provocations.” Khomeini’s threats to crush all his opponents in one day reflect a widespread anxiety among his advisers that events are moving more and more out of their control.

Khomeini’s troubles.

Of all the problems facing the Khomeini regime, perhaps the most pressing is the stagnation of the economy. Things were going badly before the revolutionary upheaval began, and months of strikes and disruption have made matters worse. Now a quarter of the 11 million-strong workforce is believed to be

unemployed, inflation is running at over 30 percent, and shortages in shops are becoming more frequent. I saw crowds fighting in Ramsar on the Caspian coast to get access to a shop selling soap powder, and the merchants of the bazaar who played such a vital role in putting Khomeini into power are now beginning to complain about government inefficiency.

The sector least affected by the changes has been agriculture. The villagers—who still make up half of Iran’s 36-million strong population—were at first reluctant to support Khomeini, because they feared he would

reverse the Shah’s land reform programme. Only in the last weeks of the Shah’s rule did groups of younger men, often migrant workers or students coming back from the towns, voice open opposition actually. In the end the local akhunds or religious officials stepped in to take the place of the government officials in whose hands village power had previously rested.

Agricultural output had been lagging far behind demand in recent years, but as a result of the lifting of price controls this year’s harvest may be considerably higher and farmers are said to be bringing back into cultivation land recently left idle. But it is debatable whether this will last, given the fact that the technical services provided by the government are no longer being maintained.

Oil output is down by one-third to around 4 million barrels a day, but because of increased OPEC price revenue is up to around \$25 billions and a considerable amount of this is believed to be lying unspent because of the paralysis of the governmental machinery. However, the rest of the non-agricultural sector is faring badly. Construction, which used to employ about one million people, is almost at a standstill. All around Tehran one can see idle cranes on abandoned building sites. Industry is believed to be operating at about 40 percent of pre-revolutionary levels, and although many firms are continuing to pay their employees despite the lack of production, unemployment is rising. Anti-Khomeini sentiment is running high in the northern provinces of the country along the Caspian coast where the tourist industry has collapsed, as a result of the ban on mixed bathing and the shortage of money in the pockets of those who used to come there for the summer.

The regime makes considerable show of the fact that it is going to help the deprived, the *mostazifin* whom the Shah neglected, but so far this has not gone beyond the rhetoric characteristic of other third world demagogic regimes. According to the economics editor of the pro-government paper *Islamic Republic*, the only concrete measure taken has been to provide electricity of under 100 kilowatts free of charge, and to make loans for housing construction available on a system whereby the government loans ten times what the would-be pur-

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Left loses protector

The sudden death of Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleghani deprived the Iranian left of its only important religious cover. Tehran’s highest ranking and most popular Islamic leader, Taleghani gained a special understanding of clandestine revolutionary groups during his long opposition to the Shah and eleven years as a political prisoner prior to his release in the midst of turmoil last Oct. 30.

Particularly close to the Moslem radical leftist Mujahidin e Khalq organization, Taleghani publicly defended all leftist and liberal parties’ right to exist, and was also considered the leading mediator between the ruling Shi’ite hierarchy and various national minority autonomy movements.

Taleghani’s links to the left may have been more personal than ideological. He protested forcefully last April after his two sons and daughter-in-law, all leftist militants, were arbitrarily arrested.

The official announcement, a few hours after his fatal heart attack on Sept. 10, that Taleghani had been no less than President of the secret all-powerful Revolutionary Council, which has muzzled all political opposition to Ayatollah Khomeini’s brand of puritanical Islamic rule, came as a shock to many of his Tehran admirers. In fact, they had already been disappointed by the intolerant tone of his recent Friday prayers at Tehran University during Ramadan, and his branding of Kurdish leaders as

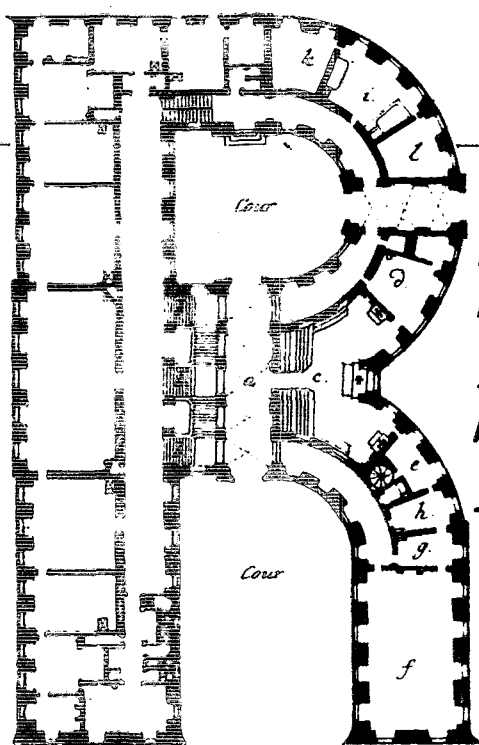
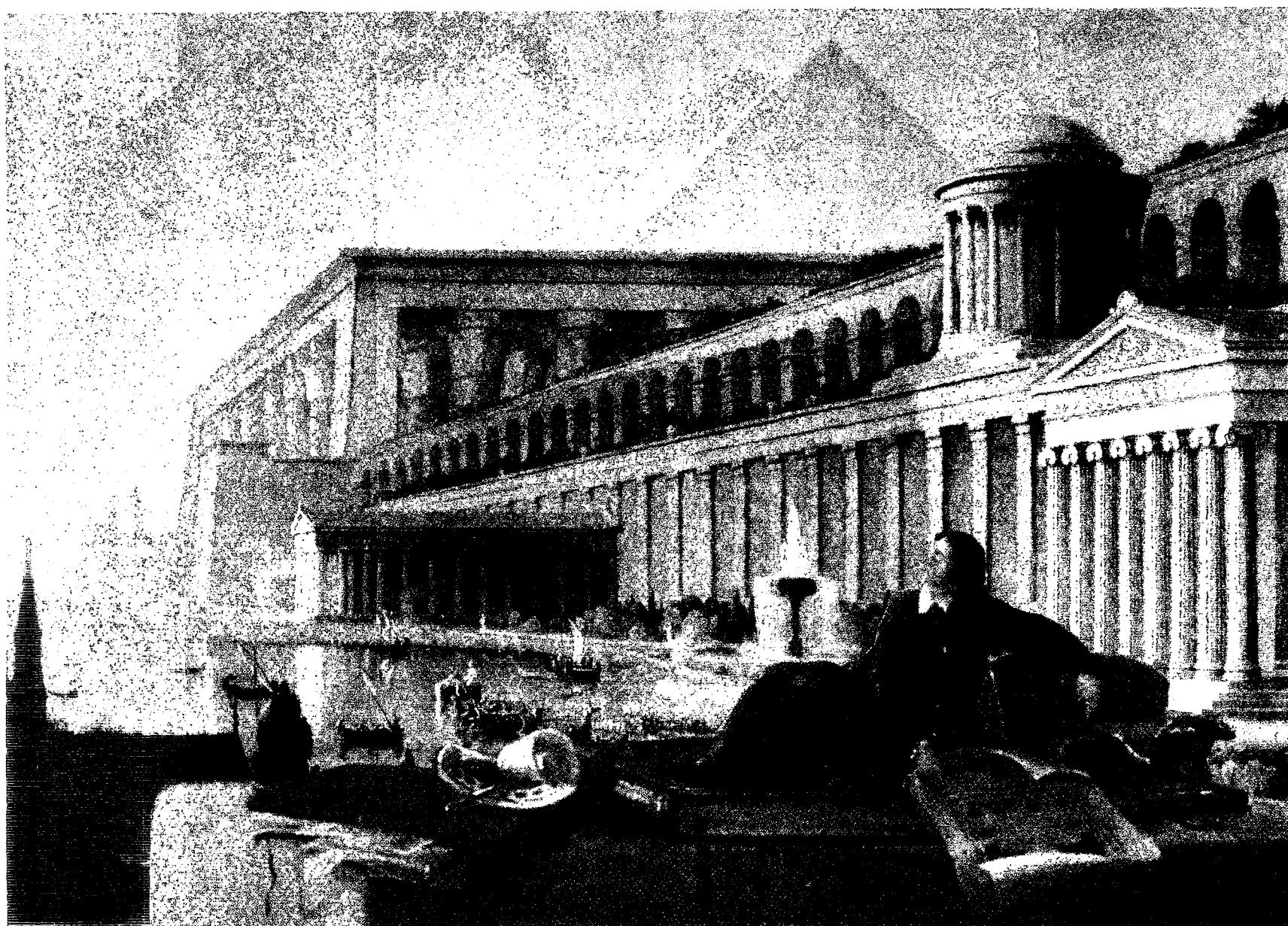
“traitors to the nation” Aug. 24.

Still, Taleghani was the left’s only known protector among top Shi’ite leaders, its only serious hope within the restricted game of Islamic politics. Dismayed Mujahidin, who had picked him as their candidate for President of the Islamic Republic, said they felt “orphaned” by his death.

Meanwhile, somewhere in the mountains of Kurdistan, the head of the banned Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, Abdul Rahman Qassemlou, said he was seeking to join forces with the Mujahidin e Khalq, the marxist Fedayin e Khalq and the Democratic National Front led by Matine Daftari. Interviewed in the wilds by Marc Kravetz of the Paris daily *Liberation*, Qassemlou stressed that his movement was not seeking independence but rather “autonomy for Kurdistan within the framework of a democratic Iran.”

Qassemlou said his people were “practically sure” that the four Phantom jets that raided the outskirts of Mahabad last Sept. 1, shortly before that important Kurd city was occupied by Iranian army troops and Guardians of the Revolution, were piloted by Americans, judging from intercepted radio conversations. To Kravetz’s skeptical reminder that Iranian pilots have been trained in the United States and speak English in flight communications, the Kurdish leader insisted that “we can still tell an Iranian voice from an American voice.”

—Diana Johnstone



REMODELING THE IVORY TOWER

*Eight Educators Look at
Social Trends and the University*

*Cruse on Black Studies,
Katz on Core Curriculum, Gintis
on Liberalism, Kolodny on Women
Academics, Marable on Black
Colleges, Strobel on Women's
Studies, Herbst on Academic
Freedom and Wagner on
Career Education.*

Universities and colleges boomed in the decades after World War II. Their enrollments, facilities and money grew rapidly. They also acquired a new sense of importance and influence as multitudes of specialties and experts proliferated, eagerly offering research and advice to corporations, the military and government agencies. Academia seemed to have won a major place in the world of power and wealth, perhaps even a pre-eminent role as headquarters of a "knowledge revolution."

But the universities—both the mandarin and the plebian—were shaken by the movements of the '60s and the new demands of students and of many faculty. Then, in the '70s, they have been hit again by a stagnant economy and retrenchments in funding, by disillusionment among their powerful patrons and by a new set of questions about what they were supposed to be doing and how they were doing it.

If less prominent now in the great public debates, the universities are no less important. To find out how they have and haven't changed, IN THESE TIMES asked eight knowledgeable observers to comment on one trend in higher education that they saw as important. Together their interpretations also give a clue about where university education will head in the decade to come.

Liberalism on the Run

HERB GINTIS

Ten years ago a group of graduate students and young faculty at Harvard University put together a course on political economy—racism, poverty, alienated labor, the corporate state, education and inequality in American capitalism. "This is not economics," claimed an august body of senior faculty. They refused to allow it into the department of economics. Today, the old warhorse of bourgeois economics, Paul Samuelson's text, has been dropped from the introductory economics curriculum there, and *The Capitalist System*—a Marxist interpretation of the American economy directly inspired by our decade-old course—has become required reading.

An American economist who only a few years ago was awarded the Nobel prize for his contributions to liberal economic theory, Kenneth Arrow, now proclaims himself a socialist. One of the most prominent of our political scientists, long a standard-bearer of liberal political theory, Robert Dahl, now belongs to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Another leading political scientists who built his reputation around defending "the genius of American capitalism," Charles Lindbloom, now argues the system is doomed and must be replaced.

The fundamental political event of the past few years is the demise of the progressive liberal accord between corporate capital and organized labor. The Democratic Party, the keystone of this accord, has fallen into disarray. The economic system is in what looks like a permanently comatose state, and people are looking for alternatives.

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Academia has not been spared. Questioning liberal orthodoxy is easier now than even at the very peak of the political confrontations of the late '60s. Students, depicted by the Old Guard as apathetic and self-interested, are rather scared and cynical—scared, with the prospect of decent jobs and secure lives dim on the horizon, and cynical, as no nexus of viable alternative politics has yet emerged. The political support for such an alternative, however, is clearly immense.

The business and government establishment is visibly shaken. There has been a veritable flood of pro-capitalist propaganda channeled into our colleges by such corporate-finance groups as the American Enterprise Institute, who use William Shattner, of Star Trek fame, to peddle their wares.

The general business and foundation response to the student movement of the '60s was to "vocalize" higher education—eliminate critical inquiry in favor of nuts-and-bolts, job-oriented technical skills. Faculty and student opposition has hampered this strategy. The tremendous surge of trade unionism in colleges and universities, aiding faculty and protecting their own "working conditions," will make the business strategy even more difficult in coming years.

Don't write off higher education in the struggle for socialism, which will likely face us in the decade of the '80s. The Hallowed Halls may yet be a center of progressive change.

Herb Gintis, co-author of Schooling in Capitalist America, teaches at the Univ. of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Black Colleges are in Danger

MANNING MARABLE

One of the principal "success stories" for the 1960s was the advance of black Americans in the area of education. At every academic level, from high school to graduate study, more AfroAmericans were enrolled than ever before. Problems remain, however, that have been solved neither by traditional white and black academicians, nor by their black nationalist critics.

About one fifth of all blacks were illiterate as late as 1930. Over one third of all black children between the ages of 5 and 20 were not enrolled in school in 1940.

The demand for an end to Jim Crow restrictions in public accommodations swiftly became a general critique of segregationist civil society, especially its educational institutions. Thousands of AfroAmericans completed college and subsequently were able to become more competitive in various job markets.

The statistical evidence on overall educational advancement for the past 20 years is impressive. From 1960 to 1975, the percentage of black adults over 25 years old who had completed high school rose from 20 percent to 43 percent.

In 1960, for example, the median school years completed for blacks and whites between 25 and 34 was 9.3 years and 12.1 years respectively. Whites were over twice as likely to finish high school and college as blacks. By 1975, 12 percent of all blacks and 20 percent of all whites have college diplomas. The median school years completed for blacks is 12.3 years and 12.7 years for whites.

The price for these gains was unclear at first, even to most black educators. Even in the '60s, the great majority of black students attended traditionally black colleges. Most of these institutions are located in the South, established during or immediately after Reconstruction. Tuitions were relatively low, and student enrollments rarely exceeded one thousand. These small black colleges were responsible for developing scholars like DuBois, John Hope Franklin and Charles Johnson. They remain the bed-

rock for black academic and cultural life.

Today, over one million blacks attend white colleges and universities, about four times the number attending the traditionally black institutions. Most of the better qualified students prefer Harvard and Berkeley over Morehouse and Howard. Many prominent faculty at black colleges moved to white schools because of higher salaries, benefits and academic status.

Ironically, as black higher education prospered, traditional black colleges were being rapidly destroyed. As a greater proportion of lower-income black students were admitted in recent years, black colleges began to assume a steadily increasing share of total costs. At most schools, over 90 percent of all students now receive financial aid, and only about 5 percent are able to pay their total tuition. The lack of a philanthropic tradition among black alumni at most schools meant that black administrators had to appeal to Washington for fiscal help. Until recently H.E.W. and other departments usually ignored the growing desperate financial situation at these institutions.

There are now indications that the Civil Rights Movement's commitment to integration-at-all-costs, especially in higher education, has not significantly reduced white racism and discrimination against black students. About half of all blacks who graduated from colleges this spring were at black schools. Over seventy-five percent of all black veterinarians, dentists and medical doctors graduated from black institutions. On the other side of the color line, black dropout rates at white universities exceed 60 percent. Most white colleges have begun to cut back in their minority recruitment, special services and Black Studies faculty.

Blacks will probably find it increasingly difficult to obtain admission to white graduate and medical schools, depending on the interpretation of the 1978 Supreme Court *Bakke* ruling. Affirmative action programs have been watered down at some institutions; a number of prominent and politically active black faculty at white institutions have been denied tenure over recent years. The 1977-78 census statistics indicate a decline in black college enrollment for the first time in many years.

Some larger black universities, like Tuskegee Institute, Atlanta University and Howard University will continue to attract philanthropic and federal aid. But there is the real danger that the majority of traditionally black, Southern colleges will close their doors permanently by the 1990s.

Manning Marable is currently writing the history of Tuskegee Institute with the assistance of a Rockefeller Foundation grant. In January he will begin teaching history at the African Studies Center, Cornell University.

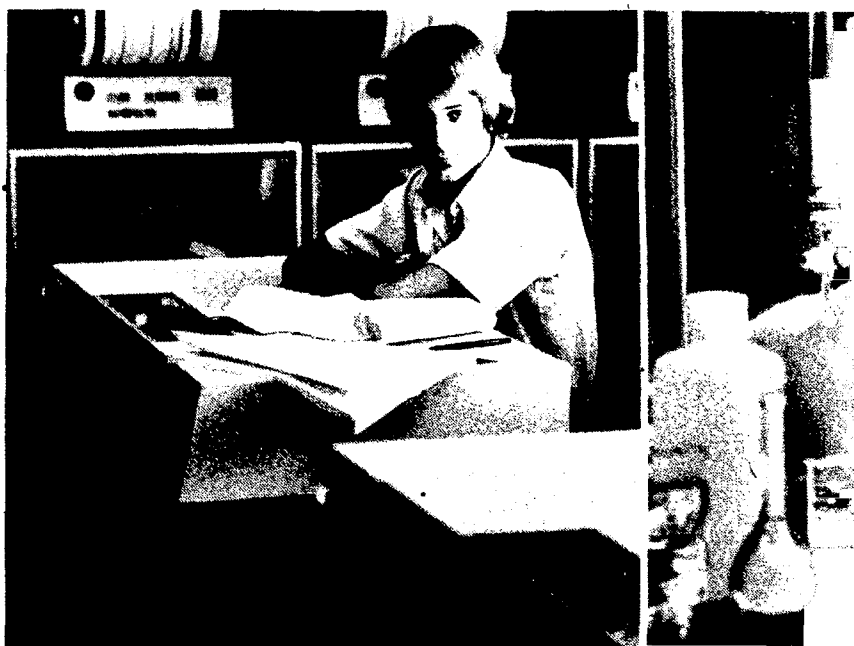
Has Black Studies Failed?

HAROLD CRUSE

Reviewing my ten years' experience in academia is similar to retracing a journey to what seemed a climb to the heights of the Parnassus of intellectual solvency and creative commitment to advancing social thought, only to find that many of the members of that remote and exclusive tribal society at the top reacted as if I had been misinformed regarding my intended destination.

When I arrived at the University of Michigan in 1968, the university system was responding to calamitous social trends outside academia in a fashion that had not been witnessed since the '30s.

Despite what certain historians later said, among the welter of the '60s domestic American movements the black movements, not the labor movement or the



While administrators st. career-oriented classes, B Women's Studies struggle

"class struggle" between capital and labor, were the most catalytic, the most crucial. On the university front, the Black Studies Program movement was the university contribution to the surge for social advance. My own contribution to this academic innovation was to play a leading role in establishing the "Afro-American Studies Program" at the University of Michigan in the fall of 1969.

Similar to Black Studies programs across the ivied landscape, the "Afro-American Studies Program" at the University of Michigan was born in a maelstrom of conflict and confusion. The program was backed by an administration for "political" reasons only. Very few administrators or even faculty at Michigan had the least notion of what a "Black Studies" curriculum was all about in 1969. One major Michigan historian remarked that there was not enough "substance" in the black experience to merit special study. This same historian has not been able to say anything "new" about the American historical experience since the '60s.

The average white academic in the social sciences did not accept the legitimacy of "Afro-American Studies," but then neither did the average black academic. The average black academic, despite lip-service to the "black experience," was still committed to the academic primacy of the traditional disciplines in the social sciences. The average black student, riding the crest of popular vogue, wanted only the "positive" interpretation of the black experience. The average white student responded to the newest ethnic-racial fashion in academia.

The University of Michigan did not respond badly at all, but in at least formal good faith. What remained to be done depended upon the resourcefulness of black administrators, directors and faculty to cultivate and shore up the intrinsic validity of Black Studies programs. In most cases, after some ten years of existence, they—the black faculty taken as a whole—have failed.

At the University of Michigan, the Center for Afro-American and African Studies, as it came to be called beginning with 1970, has, in nine years, had eight changes in directorships. The program was retarded by a continuing internal ideological struggle for dominance between the advocates of "Afro-American Studies" and "African Studies." In the meantime, the black and white enrollment in the undergraduate course offerings dropped from approximately 150-175 to 50 and below.

Today it is questionable how long these programs can be sustained on certain campuses, including that of Har-

vard University. The general fate seems to be that Black Studies courses, wherever valid, will be absorbed into the curricula of traditional departments in the social sciences.

If the Black Studies development signaled the fact that the social sciences had to, belatedly, accommodate their general contents to more intensive interpretations of the black experience, then these programs, despite their flaws and imperfections, have accomplished their mission. But if Black Studies programs were to become standard features of the university, then Black Studies programs have, for the most part, failed. On the whole, the young, black faculty who matriculated during and after the '60s became pale black versions of conventional white academicians, revealing only a spark of intellectual originality here and there. The average black student entering the university today has little or no conception of what the '60s were all about. If you told them that the Watts or Detroit racial uprisings of the '60s were caused by angry black troops returning home from WWII, most of them would believe you. Moreover, most of them are not interested in "Black Studies."

In short, the long range solvency of Black Studies is very doubtful as separate programs. Yet the disciplines of history and social studies have been permanently influenced. Perhaps that is all that could have realistically been expected.

Harold W. Cruse is Professor History and Afro-American Studies at the University of Michigan.

Women Fight to Keep Hard Won Gains

ANNETTE KOLODNY

The present situation of women faculty in the halls of academe is dismal. And the future looks bleaker still.

In the 1974-75 academic year, the percentage of women faculty in all departments across the country was 22.5 percent. In 1976-77 women accounted for 22.4 percent of the nation's faculty in higher education. Recent reports by the



able to offer
and
survive.

American Association of University Professors point to an accompanying deterioration in women's economic status and rank distribution. Not only have the percentages of women appearing in the (usually tenured) associate and full professor ranks continued to decline, but, as well, the salary gap remains unchanged.

A decade of shrinking enrollments, combined with other shrinking economic resources, has resulted in a pattern of retrenchment that cannot augur well for women's achieving equity in the foreseeable future. As budget constraints are translated into living freezes and the incapacity even to replace deceased or retiring faculty, the consequent loss in positions means, as well, the loss of any opportunity to correct patterns and policies of prejudice inherited from the past. Thus, faculty women are seeing previous gains eroded and finding themselves in the unenviable position of trying merely to maintain an already unacceptable status quo.

General statistics are more disheartening when the distinctions between the kinds of institutions represented are taken into account. For example, male faculty in English and foreign languages, as of 1972-73, were divided almost equally between universities (41 percent) and four-year colleges (42 percent), but the unusually high 35 percent of women in these fields were underrepresented in universities (26 percent) and overrepresented in the two-year associate or community colleges (46 percent).

While women have perhaps become more visible in academe, they have become neither more secure nor more numerous. The apparent increase in the number of women faculty that often accompanies the adoption of a Women's Studies Program, for example, proves chimerical upon closer view, since Women's Studies is too often a revolving door of part-time and non-tenure track appointments. Analogously, administrative efforts at Affirmative Action often mean little more than increased hiring of women at the lowest non-tenured ranks and the assignment of the few available tenured women to ever more numerous committees.

The culprit in all this is hard to pin down. Most obvious is the decades-old "Old Boy Network" that still functions so effectively in training and then placing each new crop of Ph.D.s. Then there is the dismal record of the governmental agencies created specifically to investigate, litigate and, when called for, punish recalcitrant institutions. All regional offices of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have up to 10-year backlogs of complaints awaiting investi-

gation and cases awaiting litigations. The Office of Civil Rights within H.E.W. has been slow to move on complaints against institutions of higher education. And even where a state or federal agency does investigate, the investigators too easily shy away from probing deeply in the face of claims to "confidentiality," "peer review" and other obfuscations. Their training and prior experience prepare them better to evaluate job classifications on an assembly line or salary scales in the factory. Too often, moreover, the investigators are men who, in their heart of hearts, still think of "Professor" as generically male.

Some sex discrimination cases, of course, have been brought to trial. Here, too, the results have been disappointing. Where the original intent of the law was to make a school responsible for its policy—even where unarticulated—and the consequences of that policy, more recently judges have been demanding that plaintiff's demonstrate a school or department's intent to discriminate, a far more complicated issue. As a result, case law has set precious few progressive precedents. In the course of the interminable litigation, many a woman has watched her finances drained, her emotions strained, her career ruined. Unless agencies so empowered, or the Justice Department, begin to step in and litigate these cases we can expect even fewer to be brought. Title VII, in effect, will become inoperative.

These bleak prospects notwithstanding, women in unprecedented numbers are now earning advanced degrees both in traditional and non-traditional fields. Where these new-minted Ph.D.s have enjoyed access to a Women's Studies Program somewhere in their academic career, or participated in a graduate program with ties to an activist feminist community, they enter the job market savvy and sophisticated. Precisely that savvy, however, tends to get them labeled as "too feminist" or "too aggressive" in many a job interview—as, for example, when they exercise their legal rights by refusing to answer questions about their private lives, their plans for having children, or, as one woman reported to me, whether she used a contraceptive.

Another group is also on the job market, who, in interviews, dissociate themselves from the women's movement. A colleague from the Midwest calls these "the carpetbaggers" and tells the story of one young job candidate who, when asked how she felt about seeking a position in a department that was then being sued for sex discrimination, replied that she was both unaware of and uninterested in the existence of the suit. She then launched into a diatribe against "women's libbers," and all other "shrill aggressive women," finally declaring herself staunchly opposed to "bra-burnings." A decade of women before her had not been out burning underwear but instead working tirelessly to open doors, change ingrained and often unacknowledged patterns of perception and introduce women's materials into the standard curricula. Without such efforts, did she imagine that her own thesis topic—a study of a little-known woman writer—would have been accepted? Certainly not ten years ago.

Young women such as this one, I think, are dazzled by the large numbers of job interviews they garner, never dreaming that, in many cases, the invitations represent no more than a department's efforts to gather acceptable affirmative action statistics and that the job, in the end, will go to a male. These same women naively misread the slight increase in the hiring of women at the beginning ranks as a *bona fide* recognition of special merit when seven years hence, when they themselves come up for tenure, another, younger woman will be hired to replace them.

Where women are concerned, merit is not the issue. The real issue continues to be ingrained institutional and social prejudice that renders most white males incapable either of recognizing or appreciating the merit that serious women scholars have always possessed. Not until we overcome the impasse of tokenism and admit women to college and university faculties in significant numbers, however, can that pattern of misperception begin to change.

Annette Kolodny, who has published in the fields of American literature and feminist literary criticism, is at work on a second book, with grants from the Rockefeller and Guggenheim Foundations. She is also litigating a Title VII suit against her former employer, the University of New Hampshire, charging its English department with sex discrimination and anti-semitism.

Women's Studies Needs the Movement

PEG STROBEL

Fed by the resurgence of the women's movement in the late '60s, Women's Studies has grown from a scattering of courses taught by committed feminists to an impressive array of courses, literature and personnel. *Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976*, the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs report (available from HEW), written by Florence Howe, estimated that by 1976 Women's Studies had generated some 15,000 courses in 1,500 institutions, taught by 8,500 instructors. By 1978 about 300 programs across the country offered certificates, minors, majors, MAs and occasionally Ph.D.s.

Women's Studies programs vary in the degree to which they acknowledge their debt to the women's movement, but all have been shaped by it. The National Women's Studies Association sees itself as the academic wing of the women's movement, challenging the invisibility of women, fostering new research and methodologies and teaching women the knowledge and skills to transform society. Consciously drawing on feminist models, some programs have tried to embody the principle of collective leadership and responsibility, juggling the collective structure within the larger hierarchical institution. Some build ties to community women's groups, hoping both to strengthen themselves and to serve the needs of women outside the university. Other programs, fearful of jeopardizing their legitimacy in the eyes of those who determine the budget, avoid "contamination" of the label feminist.

Whatever their ideology, the programs' existence depends on the transformations in women's lives brought by the women's movement and by the economic need that pushes women into the workforce. As women come to college to gain skills for needed jobs or as displaced homemakers who find themselves without husbands, families or familiar roles, enrollments rise in women's studies courses.

And where the enrollments are, there follows the money. Colleges and universities are becoming aware of the relatively untapped pool of potential students, largely female, lurking in kitchens and typing pools. Hence the development of re-entry programs for returning women or displaced homemakers, which can help educational institutions out of the larger problem of shrinking student populations.

Despite successes however, Women's Studies programs face serious difficulties. Most are staffed by junior faculty, who must obtain tenure under increasingly demanding requirements. Once a woman has been hired in a department, there often is resistance to the idea that an additional woman is essential. Publication in feminist journals may not be seen as serious scholarship. Enrollments in Women's Studies result in part from personal attention by teachers to students, which is unmeasurable and rarely credited in promotion.

Programs also face their collective dilemmas. As a department, a unit has autonomy to hire and fire faculty. But a women's studies department risks relieving the rest of the university of its responsibility to discuss women intellectually.

Ironically, if a history department offers a course on women it invades the turf of the Women's Studies department and may glean the enrollment so carefully nurtured by women's studies teachers. To organize as a program with faculty in different departments, however, leaves Women's Studies as a structural anomaly, easily dismantled in a financial crunch.

The fiscal crisis in education may also undermine the growth achieved so far. As state monies for education are reduced, Women's Studies programs must turn to outside funding sources. There the picture is dismal. A Ford Foundation study of funding patterns in 420 foundations from 1971-1976 revealed that a mere 0.6 percent of foundation grants went for "activities specifically designed to help eliminate sex discrimination or to further opportunities for women." The top five university and five women's organizations had received 13 percent of all foundation grants for the period studied.

Women's Studies also faces a challenge to reflect the diversity of women themselves. As the recent National Women's Studies Association convention at the University of Kansas (Lawrence) revealed, problems of racism are real, but they are being confronted. The growth of organizations, feminist consciousness and scholarship among women of color is making easier the task of integrating these women's experiences into the curriculum. Similarly the lives of lesbians, working class and older women are finding their way into Women's Studies courses as materials become available, as these women exert pressure in groups and as the Women's Studies student body becomes more diverse.

Survival and growth will require the development of job-oriented curricula beyond the present liberal arts focus and a creative response to financial problems. Moreover, we must nurture a political and social movement that feeds our roots while satisfying educational institutions that view such involvement as academically illegitimate.

Peg Strobel is director of Women's Studies at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

The Student as Worker

JON WAGNER

Men's room graffiti, University of California, Berkeley: "Where have all the exciting ideas gone! All anybody around here thinks about anymore is credits and a job." Response: "God forbid any of us get a job when we get out of here."

The connection, or lack of it, between college and work has become an issue along which an entire generation of students is strung out, waiting.

More students are enrolling in college this fall than ever before—almost 13 million of them—and more and more they are asking that their education prepare them for the world of work. The percentage of high school graduates attending college is greater than ever before, and many students have been recruited from new groups: blue-collar families, ethnic minorities and older women. A full third of those in college are aged 25 or over, and increasingly students are taking part-time course loads and years off to make space for the jobs that pay for rising college costs.

The costs of running colleges are also increasing rapidly, while colleges and universities face substantial drops in enrollments in the next few years, as well as increased competition for students from private industry and government sponsored training programs. Enrollment in federally-assisted post-secondary vocational education classes rose to 2 million in 1976—36 percent up over 1974 enrollments—and continues to grow. As a result of these increases, coupled with the growth of industry and union training

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ing programs, no more than one-third of adult classroom learning is now provided by colleges and universities. For the new generation of college students, college is frequently a business venture, a shift in focus that parallels the business like attention administrators are paying to enrollment and endowment resources. In this marketplace climate, demands for vocational relevance have increased.

William Slottman, Dean of the Division of Special Programs at Berkeley, laments the present situation. "I came here," he told a campus gathering last spring, "with the idea of trying to foster the kind of education I had received, where the liberal arts were motivation enough, and where students and teachers were engaged in a much more leisurely and perhaps luxurious kind of learning. But these days students are frequently working full-time jobs, and those take priority over their college studies."

According to a recent survey, Slottman's perceptions are accurate. Almost 50 percent of the students enrolled in the University of California system work 17 hours a week or more during the school year. These figures go up as students advance in academic level, and they are highest for married graduate students. A similar pattern applies for state and community colleges.

The problems that emerge from working through school are not solved by the increasing vocational relevance of higher education. Thoughtful mechanisms for preparing students for jobs are rarely coupled to the advertisement that this will take place. Until workers are enlisted in the design of job preparation programs, for example, formal learning will inevitably be remote from on-the-job practice. Even when workers are involved, it is exceedingly difficult to anticipate vagaries of the job market.

Almost ten years ago Ivar Berg showed in his book *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*, that colleges have failed miserably to train better workers. But if colleges do not provide vocational relevance, students will seek it elsewhere.

A variety of small programs are encouraging. Many colleges have developed administrative mechanisms to evaluate and credit learning from prior work experience. The Council for the Advancement of Experiential Learning (CAEL) has drafted guidelines for "assessing experiential learning" that are transferable from one to another of the Council's more than 300 member institutions.

In some cases external degree programs

carefully integrated with a related set of field internships.

Ironically, these programs of crediting prior learning and field internships do not coordinate well with the more mundane jobs through which students typically earn a living while they attend school. As a result, opportunities to integrate work and learning are skewed heavily towards the career professional and away from areas of more available but less glamorous employment.

Colleges and universities for some time now have played into the national drama of upward mobility and individual economic gain. They hold a delicate position. Put colleges completely into the marketplace and you demand their students' imagination and humanity, short-changing opportunities for liberal education and critical thinking. Leave them completely out and you demean students' economic needs, driving them either to less liberal learning centers (such as AT&T, the army or the local roofing company) or deeper into frustration.

The choice between vocational and non-vocational programming is the intersection of two dead-end streets. Another route needs to be developed. To date it is barely visible on the map.

Jon Wagner teaches sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

The Student as Student

MICHAEL KATZ

American higher education, in its transformation from the old-time Christian colleges to the contemporary "multiversities," has sought to become many things to many people, if not all things to all people. For some, higher education has derived both strength and flexibility from its multiplicity of functions—functions that include pure and applied research, community service, the transmission of the Western cultural heritage and the development of professional expertise. For others, myself included, higher education might be said to have lost its bearings.

As universities expanded in the past twenty years to serve larger masses of

guage or culture (one).

The Harvard curriculum and its accompanying report have received mixed reviews. Nevertheless, as professor of American Studies Barry O'Connell reports, "Institutions as different as Amherst, Brigham Young, Emory, the University of Richmond, Middlebury, Saint Joseph's College in Indiana, and the University of Pennsylvania are considering, or have already adopted, new general education programs. The specific details differ, but the pattern is essentially similar. Each hopes to broaden students' learning and to engage faculty in more extradepartmental teaching."

What brought this movement about? In the '60s many American colleges and universities, responding to students' demands for academic relevance and freedom of choice, abandoned or watered down requirements in the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. As electives proliferated, the curricula of American universities became a variegated smorgasbord of offerings. By the mid '70s, while the smorgasbord remained rich, fewer students were indulging in prolonged tasting in the liberal arts. The job market had tightened, and the press of its utilitarian, anti-liberal arts orientation made itself felt. With introductory courses in the liberal arts no longer required, traditional academic programs and subjects struggled to maintain their viability. In some way then, the "core curriculum movement" might be regarded as a response to the curricular excesses of the '60s. Some might also view the movement as an effort to resurrect the credibility of the liberal arts in the midst of a resurgent career orientation among today's college students.

What will come of the "core curriculum movement"? Will it, for example, reestablish an increased commitment to that elusive characteristic of the liberally educated person—breadth of knowledge. My own view is skeptical, for it is based on the belief that the core curriculum goes against the grain of American higher education.

Why does it go against the grain? First, the dominant administrative mind-set on today's college campuses is a managerial one, one that places little credence in such intangibles as the "quality of intellect." Instead there is much talk of "inputs" and "outputs," of "productivity" and "cost-effectiveness ratios," and of "FTE's" (full-time equivalents).

The tendency of this administrative mind-set has been to view the decline of the liberal arts in quantitative consumer

go distinctively against the grain of American higher education.

Michael Katz, the author of The Irony of Early School Reform and other books and articles, teaches history at the University of Nebraska, Omaha.

Academic Freedom and the Legislature

JURGEN HERBST

Despite myths to the contrary, universities have always had to assert whatever autonomy they could preserve against the claims of church or civil government to control and direct their affairs. Whether we think of the city universities of medieval Italy, the modern state universities of continental Europe, or the public universities in the United States today, tensions between university and state have been and are ubiquitous.

In the United States the concept of a public university is identified with the widely held belief that the people of a state determine the purposes and goals of their state university, just as they sustain the institution through their taxes. And yet, universities and academic concerns reach beyond the boundaries of place and time. The stage is thus set for conflict and confrontation between the university and the government of its state. At bottom lie the clashing ideals of professional autonomy and government by the people.

Proponents for the academic professionals say that expertise and specialized competence must prevail, that only professionals understand the concerns and the needs of other professionals. They must therefore be allowed to govern themselves.

Legislators and politicians insist that higher education is far too important a matter to be left to the professors or the administrators, that no group in society can be entrusted with the unchecked authority of self-government.

By and large, this conflict of interest between the universities and their state government has worked to the advantage of both parties. It provided for the people of a state not only the educational opportunities and the technical improvements they asked for, but also the often unappreciated educational facilities and preparation they needed to cope with future challenges. For the universities the state's critical oversight meant a constant spur to respond to social needs and to avoid a satisfied and complacent resting on laurels won in the past.

Consider the public demand for career education. From it resulted the mandate of many a legislature for the universities to re-schedule their classes in late afternoon and evening hours, to offer new vocation-oriented degree programs, and to facilitate the completion of such programs on weekends and during evenings.

The universities, on their part, insisted on the legitimacy and indispensability of their offerings in the humanities and in the liberal arts, and refused to sacrifice them on the altar of career education and business and technical training. Their point was simple and direct: To cut back on the liberal arts was to deprive newly arrived women and minority students of precisely those humane and basic parts of an education that for centuries had helped to introduce students to humane understanding, logical thinking, and effective communication.

Discourse between our public universities and state governments is essential for the health of higher education as well as for the welfare of society.

Learning, research, and teaching have social consequences, and the responsibility for these must be borne jointly by the universities and by society.

Jurgen Herbst is professor of educational policy studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The attempt to replace 'smorgasbord' schooling with a core curriculum goes against the marketplace mentality of the modern university.

are available, in which many of a student's credits can be accumulated outside the classroom. Only 54,000 or so students are enrolled in them, however, relatively few compared with the 3.9 million enrolled in two-year institutions and the 4.3 million seeking bachelor's degrees in all colleges.

Internships and field placements have been developed by a number of colleges and universities as opportunities to try out different kinds of jobs. The National Center for Research in Vocational Education recently drafted a set of guidelines for such experiences that parallel those of CAEL for assessing prior experience learning.

The number of students involved in these activities is small relative to total college enrollments, and the design of "field learning" programs varies greatly from one institution to the next. In most instances, they draw upon existing provisions for independent study. In some cases—such as Berkeley's Field Studies Program and Northwestern University's Semester in the City—academic seminars, readings and written work are

students (there are over 11 million students in the U.S. in post-secondary programs), one of the casualties has been the quality of general undergraduate education. In the aftermath of the '60s, we find an increasingly diminished commitment to the traditional function of undergraduate education, namely the development of breadth of knowledge and a critical intellect. What is the condition of our patient—the one called "general education"? My own diagnosis is grim: general education is well nigh moribund.

Such an apocalyptic comment demands a qualification. On the curricular horizon of a few universities, most notably Harvard and Berkeley, the star of general education appears to be rising. Some have dubbed the star the "core curriculum movement," because Harvard's faculty, after four years and much debate, recently adopted a "core curriculum" consisting of requirements in literature and the arts (three semester long courses), history (two), science and mathematics (two), social and philosophical analysis (two) and foreign lan-

terms, i.e. "smaller body counts" and "decreased credit-hour production." To tamper with the curriculum is, within this view, to tamper with the ineluctable ebb and flow of the marketplace, a marketplace in which a sacred principle informs policy decisions—"Give the consumer (the student) what he wants."

Second, at the heart of any effort to revitalize general education is a strong faculty commitment to excellence in basic introductory courses. Such teaching excellence remains the best hope for the rebirth of general education. However, faculty are predominantly rewarded for becoming specialists in their own fields. Moreover, publishing in one's specialized area remains the dominant mode for promotion, merit salary increases, and external recognition in one's professional associations. In the absence of a change in this reward system, it is hard to believe there will be much faculty enthusiasm for general education.

It may be too early to sound the death knell to "the core curriculum movement." However, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that these efforts

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

SANE PUBLIC AFFAIRS

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR FINE coverage of developments in non-commercial radio (*ITT*, Sept. 12). Some key points were missed, however.

Recent FCC proposals would release all U.S. stations (perhaps excluding non-commercial stations) from legal responsibility to serve "community interest" and to carry "public affairs" programming. Elimination of these requirements will turn the nation's radio waves into a howling commercial wilderness, with little concern for minorities, and no serious public affairs (read liberal or progressive) programming. Only the right wing can afford to buy significant air time. Opposition to these regulation changes should be expressed immediately to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.

SANE has been producing a weekly-half-hour public affairs radio show, "Consider the Alternatives" since 1972. It is broadcast on more than 300 stations nationwide. Our staff and consultants are composed of veteran journalists and researchers who learned their trade in the anti-war movement and who provide a weekly antidote to the right wing nonsense that saturates the air waves. Recent and upcoming interviews include William Winpisinger, Jane Fonda, Ted Kennedy, Robert Lekachman, Helen Caldicott, Marc Raskin, Richard Barnett, Mike Klare, Irene Gendzier and Dick Gregory. We recently covered the May 6 Coalition anti-nuclear rally, the Conference on Alternative State and Local Politics and other important events.

We would be glad to send our monthly program guide, transcripts and more information to readers who can send a tax-deductible contribution of \$15.00 or more to the SANE Education Fund, 1411 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

—Steve Shick, Michael Marchino,
Bob Musil, Diana Roose,
Marta Christensen, John Glinaven,
David Heudberg
Philadelphia

FOR AN ALTERNATIVE

THE NEW CALIFORNIA ENERGY COALITION has shown political horse sense in down-playing the anti-nuclear issue. We don't need to convince the American people that nuclear power is a bum idea; they know it. We do need to convince them that there is a practical alternative: that the country's energy needs can be met in safe, non-polluting ways.

To that end I am proposing a national conference on renewable energy sources, to be held in Washington (say) next February. Aim: consciousness raising on a national scale, through speeches, panels, films, industrial exhibits (i.e., from manufacturers of solar generators, windmills, methane generators, etc.) and so on. The idea is to put forward a detailed, step-by-step program for the transition from fossil-nuclear to renewable energy, along the general lines of Barry Commoner's *The Politics of Power*, to which both Congress and the various presidential candidates will have to respond.

I have talked to several people, including Commoner and Alan McGowan of the Scientists Institute for Public Information. They like the idea, but for various reasons have not been able to take practical steps toward implementing it. Nor can I—among other reasons, because I lack the political clout to get such an operation moving.

I am therefore putting the idea up for grabs by any group or groups who feel like picking it up and running with it. (I will be glad to help in planning and publicizing such a conference.) Time is obviously of the essence—not least because of the upcoming elections.

I believe the energy issue may well turn out to be the lever by which we can turn this country around during the 1980s. But only if we grab hold of it and push. How about it, friends?

—Robert Claiborne
New York, N.Y.

JOE HILL

WE APPRECIATE THE ITEM ABOUT the Joe Hill posthumous pardon campaign and the 100th birthday party to be held in Chicago; but you omitted some vital information which we are sure some readers want to know: How to get involved? The Joe Hill pardon petitions may be ordered from the Illinois Labor History Society, Box 914, Chicago, Ill. 60690.

In Chicago, the birthday party will be a Centennial Songfest at 3:00 p.m. Sunday, Oct. 7 at North Park College, Foster and Kedzie. Fred Holstein leads the list of performers. The ticket is \$2.00. Readers in other cities are urged to organize their own local celebrations!

—Les Orear
President, Illinois Labor History Society
Chicago

PUERTO RICO, AT LAST!

RAMON E. DAUBON'S ARTICLE ON Puerto Rico (*ITT*, Sept. 5) was long overdue.

Anyone who has lived in Puerto Rico for some time, and then in the mainland, is struck by the widespread lack of knowledge concerning the history and nature of the relationship between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The tragic consequences of 60 years of neocolonialism in Cuba has not taught any lessons or led to more concern over the 80 years of evolving colonialism in "the island."

As the debate over political status is extended from the island to the mainland, it is important to bring out the extraordinary degree of economic and cultural penetration the Puerto Rican people have been exposed to over the years. And also the strong resistance of the people: a clear consciousness of Latin American nationality still exists in spite of attempts at "conversion."

If and when the question of a transition to independence becomes an item on the agenda, a lengthy debate in the U.S. will be needed. An economy tailored to serve U.S. interests (everything imported, almost no agriculture left) will collapse if the cord is cut abruptly.

—Ramon A. Bueno
Brighton, Mass

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

I WAS SURPRISED BY YOUR REFERENCE to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (*ITT*, Aug. 22) which read as follows: "Chicagoan Marilyn Katz, one of NAM's three person leadership, claimed that Barkan's NAM led revolutionary movement could contain 100,000's of potential revolutionaries. Katz included in this category...the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (which lost many of its leaders after a disastrous split)."

The parenthetical comment has implications that are not correct. We assume that Katz was referring to the U.S. Branch of the P.S.P., which has its main body in Puerto Rico.

In the U.S. Branch of the P.S.P. there has been no loss of many leaders. Following an intense two years of evaluation following the 1976 elections in Puerto Rico, one member of the seven member U.S. Branch Politician Commission, and two of the 30 member U.S. Branch Committee quit. The U.S. Branch Political Commission member who split was Jose La Luz, now active in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), and in the liberal Americans for Democratic Action.

The U.S. Branch maintains its organization in most U.S. cities with substantial Puerto Rican populations, and held its second Congress in December 1978. In Puerto Rico the P.S.P. has been able to collect in six months what it took us two years to do in 1970-71—more than 40,000 (almost 3 percent of the electorate) notarized signatures on petitions. The Party has been strengthened by the defection of ultra-left members in Puerto Rico.

We were surprised by Katz' mention of the P.S.P. being part of a NAM led movement. This is absolutely not true.

Jose Alberto Alvarez
First Secretary

OUTRAGED

I WAS REALLY OUTRAGED BY JOHN JUDIS' review of the NAM Convention (*ITT*, Aug. 22).

The report was incredibly distorted; by focusing on a couple of debates Judis gives the impression that the NAM convention was all at some abstract level of sectarian debate.

The snide tone really pissed me off. I'm glad that John thinks we have so many together left groups in the U.S. that he can afford to write off a group like NAM.

I have significant differences with the August 7 Caucus in NAM. But unlike Judis, I believe in the conception of a multi-tendency organization where socialists struggling for common goals can have both debates and work together.

—Mike Rotkin
Santa Cruz NAM, City Council

APPALLED

I AM APPALLED BY JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE about the New American Movement convention!

I won't go into the many small distortions in Judis' article, but I can't help commenting on the accompanying picture of what looks like "Chairman" Healey turning over the leadership to "Chairman" Kunnes! An important part of NAM is our attempts to build a democratic and collective organization, which is not run by any one person.

—Katharine Kennedy
Brooklyn, N.Y.

DISTURBED AND ANGRY

JOHAN JUDIS' RECENT ACCOUNT (*ITT*, Aug. 22) of NAM's Milwaukee convention and its decision there not to pursue the possibility of a merger with

DSOC left me disturbed and angry. Right or wrong, our decision not to pursue merger with DSOC was based on essential differences between NAM's work and goals and DSOC's, especially in the communities where we work and live. In Columbia, Mo., for example, where I lived until recently, the DSOC local was relatively strong, with 12-15 active members, while those of us in NAM struggled along in a "pre-chapter" of four, whose presence was barely felt or noticed publicly. But while the DSOC people worked on a watered-down piece of legislation to make minimal improvements in Missouri's scandalous health-care system, working the same old letter-writing and lobbying strings, one of our NAM members, a young doctor, was staffing a free clinic and training midwives. While DSOC meetings were visited by well-coifed union leaders in suits and shades, ours were attended by people who work at the power plant or on a city garbage truck, who feel about the same toward their union officials as they do toward their employers.

—Fred Pfeil
Corvallis, Ore.

TAKES EXCEPTION

AS A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE New American Movement, as a current member of both NAM and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, I want to take exception to John Judis' coverage of the NAM convention. The purist and subcultural trends he described were in evidence—products both of NAM's new left antecedents and also of certain theoretical premises permeating much of the left as a whole.

Yet the convention was considerably more complex, multi-dimensional—and hopeful—than one would gather from reading his description. Several workshops (e.g. in labor, community, feminist organizing, energy controversies) reflected chapters' grounding in many key areas of contemporary social struggle and movement. The resolution responding to DSOC's proposed "merger and joint work-discussion" committee represented a sharp and generous break with left sectarianism and a step toward left wing unity. Perhaps most important, NAM's convention demonstrated a capacity for self-reflection and change—in Roberta Lynch's major keynote, in resolutions changing long-held positions, in informal discussions—that is the precondition for socialist growth and power in the 1980s.

—Harry Boyte
Minneapolis, Mn

John Judis replies again:

Since my report on the New American Movement convention appeared we've received several angry letters from NAM members. Normally, I like to get letters, angry or otherwise; it shows that people take seriously what I've written. But this time I'm worried that my polemical report of the convention did not accomplish what I wanted it to.

Despite NAM's relatively small size (.00045 percent of the American population), it is one of only two national democratic socialist organizations. Its successes and failures have to be taken seriously by anyone concerned with building a socialist movement in the U.S. And given the relative weakness of the socialist left, it has to be given respect and recognition, even within the framework of a critical report. I don't think I did this.

I presented NAM as a kind of paradox: some local chapters and leaders have matured and have some impact on local politics, but other chapters remain stagnant, and the national organization has been consistently paralyzed and lacking a national presence by periodic invasions

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ROBERTA LYNCH

The primordial battle of the sexes goes on

IT IS DIFFICULT TO PINPOINT the exact historical event that birthed the contemporary feminist movement. But it has now been somewhere in the vicinity of a decade since its emergence. The changes wrought by the movement over the last ten years have radically re-shaped our social patterns: The number of women in the workforce has risen sharply. Women have invaded nearly every male profession. Girls are participating widely in all forms of sports. Abortion is no longer a criminal offense. The list could go on and on.

Yet for all this remarkable progress, as we enter the 1980s many women find themselves frustrated, confused. In part this is due to the resistance of the larger society—the ERA battles, for instance. But there is another factor—more difficult to articulate, more disturbing to acknowledge: It is the sense that men themselves are on the whole deeply resistant to change.

In the course of a decade women have travelled at an almost blinding pace along a twisted path still thick with the brambles of a sexual history so ancient its origins remain in obscurity. Occasionally, we crash into thickets, stuck in the complications of our pasts. And even as we go forward, we still bruise far too easily, our bodies now more attuned to their environment, more susceptible to its assaults. But we have a sense of momentum that cannot easily be halted or diverted.

Women did not come to this journey simply out of curiosity or anger; the pressures acting on us were enormous and we had, in reality, no choice but to embark. Men, on the other hand, have had few concomitant pressures and have been much slower to move. And, as they begin to sense that it is not simply a matter of "catch-up"—of women coming to be where they are—but of them also changing, of a path that leads to a wholly new place, many men have drawn back. Angry that they can't keep up, they are retrenching—and claiming the superiority of their original position.

The result is that the most striking feature of America's personal life is no longer the generation gap, but the gender gap.

The question of how to live out our lives with this tension is the source of



much of our current unease. The ideology of the movement no longer seems clear. For confusion is not easy to symbolize on banners and uncertainty does not make for good polemics.

Some of our most important political thinking is now emerging in new forms. Fiction is becoming an essential element of our collective growth because it is one of the few forms that—like reality itself—flourishes on ambiguities. It allows the most extreme statements because it constantly forces them to co-exist with the complexities of life against which they must stand. In essence, and whether we like it or not, *The Women's Room* is the *Sexual Politics* of this time.

Marian Engel, a leading Canadian novelist, describes the situation as "warfare" in her latest book. Her protagonist says of her former husband: "Asher was afraid of my having any power, even domestic power." And then goes on: "If Asher were the only man who felt this way there would be no point in what I am now going to do; but there are hundreds and thousands of them, men who are afraid of giving women any power, any power at all; who must bind them and hurt them...probably to prevent what they fear is the female side of themselves from getting out of hand."

The most visible and frightening manifestation of this hostility is the growing incidence of rape—up 20 percent from last year despite the growth of anti-rape programs.

Many men are genuinely horrified by the most brutal rapes. But there still exists an atmosphere of indifferent tolerance, even sly joking, even covert approval ("that tease got what she deserved") among men that shapes our societal attitude toward rape.

Thus, it has become increasingly clear that the rapist is not necessarily the social aberrant he was once presumed to

be. In Chicago, he may be your local policeman: A former Chicago cop—with a record for apprehending rapists—was recently convicted of assaulting and raping a young woman. In Tennessee, he may be your friendly fireman: A Knoxville woman was tied to the bed of a firehouse for 18 hours and raped by 25-30 firemen.

Most men, of course, do not express their antagonism toward women through anything as grotesque as rape. But though it may be muted, it is seldom completely submerged. The contempt, the animosity, the objectification are so prevalent in everything from casual conversations to exalted literary publications that they are impossible to ignore or wish away. And those who count on some natural erosion of these phenomena need only hang out for a few hours at their local high school to have such hopes dashed.

These are the contradictions that women must live with now—that we are free to seek the job of our choice, but do not feel free to walk the streets of our choice after dark; that we have won a certain amount of respect for our intelligence, but are still treated with contempt for our sexuality; and, finally, that our desires for love, companionship, relatedness must co-exist with our recognition of deep-rooted animosity.

To blame the women's movement for this state of affairs is absurd, Christopher Lasch—mistaken in many of his assessments of feminism—is fundamentally correct in his insistence that men's resentment toward women antedates the

women's movement and cannot be assuaged by a change in its tactics.

The women's movement has only served to expose to the light this dark underside of the male-female dialectic. It did not cause it. And we have only a prayer that it can cure it.

None of this is to say that men have not changed at all—or that they are incapable of change. But it is to insist that we ignore at our own peril the ways that this change has failed to penetrate the encrusted layers of primordial fear and conditioned hostility.

Given the faint likelihood that this ancient battle will ever conform to traditional notions of political struggle, it is difficult to imagine how it will be resolved. Initially, women believed in the power of our ideas, in the weight of morality, in the strength of law. Now all of these seem pale as we watch men guard their power which has become so entrenched as to appear indistinguishable from their selfhood.

I don't know where our hope lies. I know that women did not create this cultural chasm and that we cannot easily cross it or circumvent it. Perhaps it is only when there are enough women who realize this and who refuse to any longer allow men their illusions of superiority, that there will be any possibility of a genuine reconciliation between the sexes.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization. ©In These Times.

LETTERS

Continued from page 11.

of sectarians, who equate socialist politics with ideological purity. Perhaps I didn't sufficiently emphasize the first half of this point: NAM has accomplished something in Pittsburgh, Dayton, Oakland, Santa Cruz and some other cities, where the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) has not. And some of its local leaders—as the NAM leadership response indicated (ITT, Aug. 29)—have perspectives on many issues similar to my own. In fact, most of the criticism in my report was in the form of quotes of NAM members.

But the problem in NAM, as elsewhere, is inability to develop a politics that reflects socialist aspirations within the realm of possibilities that actually exist for building a left in the U.S. Such a politics would have to have at least these elements:

- A view of democracy and the electoral process as central to socialism and to building a socialist movement;

- A recognition of the trade union movement's importance, both as a

potential or actual bulwark against corporate power and as a key component of any socialist movement;

- And the recognition that in the growing alliance among citizens' groups, women's and minority organizations, environmentalists, left Democrats, and the labor movement against the corporate offensive—and around an as yet undefined program of economic democracy—lies the best hope for developing a socialist movement in the U.S.

These points do not amount to a "line" that would stifle debate and prevent the development of diverse political tendencies. It allows for infinite debates on how to work in particular elections, single-issue campaigns, and unions, as well as great and heated disagreement about Israel, the PLO, the Soviet Union and the form of American or European socialism. But such debate was largely absent in past NAM conventions, and in the recent one.

Instead, NAM has been bogged down in debate among political tendencies that regard elections either as bourgeois illusions or as pure instrumentalities to win single-issues or educate "the masses"—and that see current developments within the labor movement (which have often been centered in its leadership and not its rank-and-file) and within citizens' and Democratic party groups as irrelevant.

These views continue to thrive in NAM. By my count, they represented a third of the recent convention. And they thrive because the counterperspective, which, in some form, many NAM members hold, has not been clearly and insistently articulated by the leadership, has not been made the basis of NAM's political development.

I confess to believing that a merger between NAM and DSOC, on terms appropriate to democratic socialists within each, would help establish a socialist left with both national and local presence—and also with a reasonable set of assumptions upon which to grow.

It may be that in its ninth convention NAM was moving closer to the kind of political perspective I've outlined, as well as to an eventual merger with DSOC. It may be that the acrimonious debate with the August 7th Caucus over "gradualism" vs. the "revolutionary rupture" was darkened before the dawn. But my jaundiced eye perceived a cyclical reoccurrence of sectarian combat. I would hope I prove to be wrong.

"ARMS CONTROL HAS FAILED..."

For decades, political leaders have promised to reverse the arms race and make peace. But the war system rewards leaders who fail to make good on their promises.

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Iran

Continued from page 6

chaser can put down. Beyond that, official spokesmen engage in vacuous talk about a new 'Islamic economics' based on the religious concept of *touhid* or unity, but the social system inherited from the Shah is not being restructured.

The response of the poor to these developments is still unclear. Khomeini's appeals to the workers indicate that he knows they could undermine him as they broke the Shah, and the government is taking no chances in the oil fields, wages there, already high, have been doubled since the revolution and although this is supposed to be Ramadan, when Muslims fast during the day, the canteens in the oil fields continue to serve lunch. Many workers committees that sprung up during the revolution itself have continued to operate, but they have fallen increasingly under the influence of the local akhunds or of the pro-Khomeini Revolutionary Committees, and no wider trade union organizations, uniting different factories, have yet come into operation.

There is more overt resistance over Khomeini and his followers' attempts to

impose a new religious model of social behaviour. Alcohol, produced and drunk in Iran since long before it became a Muslim country, is now prohibited and drink can only be bought on the black market. But although women singers are now banned from the radio and TV, cassettes of their songs are still being sold on the streets and after the first week of Ramadhan people in parts of Tehran were eating, drinking and smoking in public. In conversations with people, I found that most Iranians are pious, but do not like the akhunds. Indeed, a strain of anti-clericalism is growing in the country.

Those most affected by the Islamic injunctions are members of minority religious sects and women. Although Christians (mainly Armenians), Jews and Zoroastrians are given constitutional guarantees, all feel uncomfortable in the new Islamic Republic, and all have been hit economically because they are mainly trading communities. The Bahai, a heretical sect who broke from Iranian Islam in the mid-nineteenth century, are not given such recognition and their main temple in the centre of Tehran has been turned into an Islamic educational center.

Women face discrimination in several spheres. The demonstrations of last March prevented Khomeini's government from making the Muslim headscarf, the hejab, or the black cloak, the

chador, compulsory. Women in the center and north of Tehran as well as in some provincial towns still dress freely. But they are subject to harassment by gangs of young men, and there is a possibility that Khomeini will try and enforce the hejab after the Islamic constitution comes into force later this year. Women judges have been removed, women's sports have been all but banned, and the unemployment produced by the recession is falling unequally on women.

The growing polarisation in the towns is matched by the worsening state of relations between the government and the non-Persian nationalities who make up around half of the population.

Radio and TV Director Sadegh Ghotbzadeh argues that Kurdish demands for proper regional autonomy are impracticable. "If the Kurds didn't have foreign support, they couldn't last one week," he said—and he confirmed that the authorities were "absolutely against" the organization of local councils on the basis of nationality.

Faced with the challenges from the left, the nationalities and the economy, Khomeini and his supporters are resorting to an increasingly virulent rhetoric against all who disagree with them. Dozens of leftwing opponents of the Islamic regime have already been arrested or have gone into hiding, and by attacking in particular the Fedayin

guerrillas and the Kurdish Democratic Party Khomeini has shown where he intends to strike. It is impossible to predict what the outcome of the present crisis in Iran will be, but the uneasy truce between left and right that has lasted since the Shah's overthrow now seems definitively and explosively over. ■

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute, Amsterdam.

Kennedy

Continued from page 3.

from angry representatives. As September approached, these embryonic campaign organizations clamored for some sign that their efforts were not in vain. On Sept. 7 they got it.

In the aftermath of Sept. 7, some of the old Kennedy forces, including academics, businessmen, and party officials, have begun to swing behind the draft-Kennedy movement. In Minnesota, where Walter Mondale's influence had been expected to ensure a Carter victory in the Feb. 26 caucuses, Sec. of State Joanne Grove and ex-Mondale aide Mark Dayton both announced for Kennedy.

The move toward Kennedy is especially pronounced within the labor movement. After their settlement with General Motors, the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership told its locals and its international representatives that they could do as they wished in the presidential race. In the Midwest, regional director Robert Johnston sent a letter to locals urging them to join the Kennedy draft. The AFL-CIO's Lane Kirkland, who is expected to throw the federation's weight behind Kennedy, indirectly gave his blessing. When asked if he thought the Kennedy move would split the Democratic party, Kirkland replied, "How can you divide what scarcely exists."

Kennedy's first test will come in Florida's Oct. 13 election of delegates to a state convention. At that convention, the 877 delegates plus 838 delegates appointed by party officials will conduct a straw vote for president. (In 1975, Carter's victory in the Florida straw vote set him on the way to the presidency.) Kennedy probably cannot win the Florida vote—the appointed delegates will be mostly Carter loyalists—but he may elect many delegates.

Kennedy's next test will be the Jan. 21 Iowa caucuses. A recent *Des Moines Register* poll showed Kennedy with 49 percent of the Democratic vote compared to Carter's 26 percent. Participation in the caucuses, which is usually limited to the more committed Democrats, should help Kennedy rather than hurt him.

The primary season, which comprises 35 states, begins with the Feb. 26 New Hampshire primary. Carter is hoping to counteract a certain Kennedy victory there with a victory in the Minnesota caucuses, but as recent defections indicate, Mondale's influence may prove insufficient. At a recent county Democratic meeting, one official reported 60 percent support for Kennedy.

But the most difficult question, which Kennedy backers must face, is whether Kennedy—if he wins—will really be different from the Jimmy Carters and Gerald Fords. John F. Kennedy, with his charisma, was able to maintain personal popularity in the face of disastrous errors like the Bay of Pigs, but he was no more successful than Jimmy Carter in getting programs through Congress.

And Edward Kennedy would take office with the same intractable problems that Carter faced—rising unemployment and inflation, corporate firms unwilling to plow their profits back into industrial expansion, and growing dependence on increasingly expensive foreign energy supplies and raw materials. Within any framework that respects corporate prerogatives, there simply is no solution to these problems, whoever is president. If Kennedy were to make a difference, he would have to use his charisma to rally the public against corporate priorities. ■

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»SPORTSCENE«

U.S. TENNIS OPEN

Goodbye to Emily Post

By Mark Naison

This year's U.S. Open Championships provided a dramatic display of professional tennis' identity crisis. During the two week long tournament, the conduct of players, fans and umpires attracted more attention than the quality of play. The most memorable and talked about vignette was not the final round victories of John McEnroe and Tracy Austin, but the near riot at the McEnroe-Nastase match provoked by a disputed call, an incident that inspired a surge of nostalgia from journalists and TV commentators for tennis' "good old days."

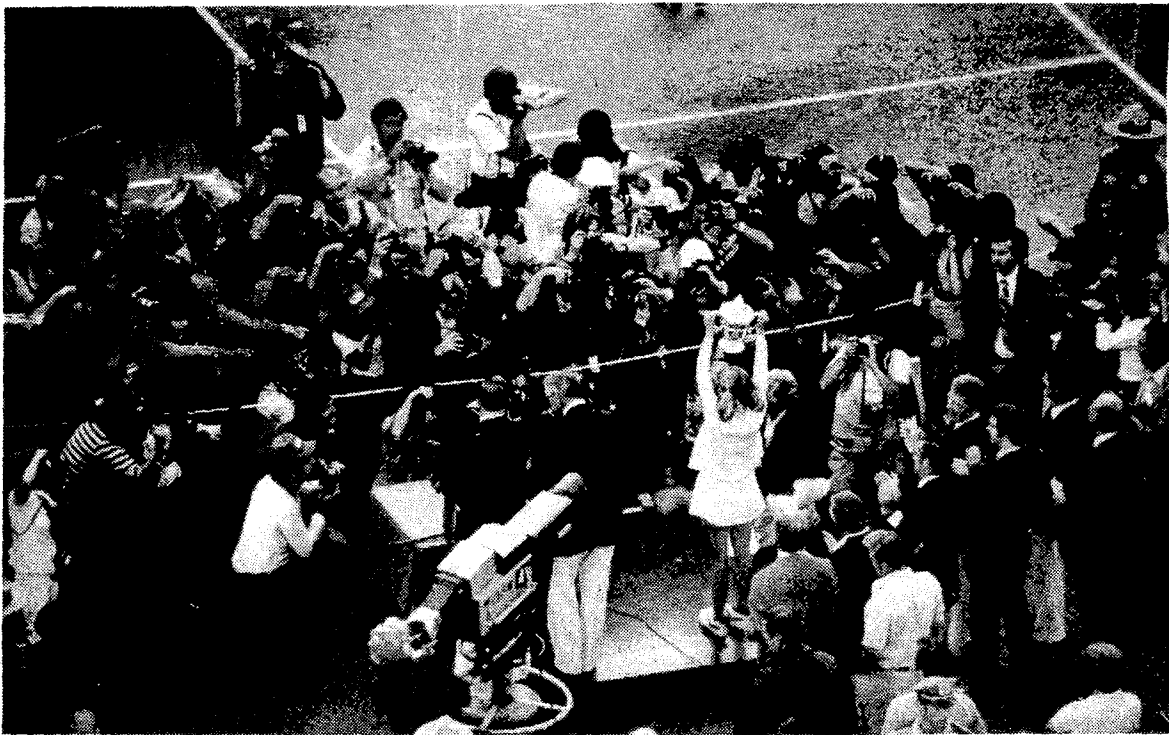
The new men's champion, John McEnroe, stands at the center of this controversy. An extraordinarily gifted player, with the best touch in men's tennis, McEnroe acts more like a Rick Barry or a Lou Pinella than a Rod Laver. Talking to himself incessantly as he scrambles around the court, McEnroe curses his own misses and tries to intimidate linesmen and umpires with insults and hate-filled glances. These tantrums incite

the fans, who respond by booing his misses and shouting at him in the middle of points.

This kind of behavior, by both players and fans, was unimaginable ten years earlier. But it's something tennis officials are going to have to live with as the game grows in popularity.

In the U.S. tennis has become the participatory sport of the suburban middle class, a big money proposition for players, instructors, managers of facilities, and manufacturers of clothing and equipment. Talented athletes can make a living from the game as instructors even if they don't make it to the top, and the very top players make astronomical amounts of money. Bjorn Borg makes over \$3 million a year from winnings and endorsements, making him the highest paid athlete in the world. A head pro at a good sized club makes over \$25,000 a year.

With this kind of money at stake and with the media attention tennis now receives, it's naive to expect tennis players to behave differently from other professional athletes. Tennis is still a middle class sport, but its image is now the garish chic of a



Suddenly media attention is on tennis, as its audience expands.

Studio 54 rather than the tight-lipped snobbery of the gin-and-tonic set.

The U.S. Open, once played within the ivy-covered confines of the West Side Tennis Club (to which no blacks or Jews could belong), is now played in the Louis Armstrong Stadium in Flushing Meadow Park, a facility originally constructed for pop music shows.

Tennis players are now media superstars, symbols of upwardly-mobile aggressiveness, and no one should be surprised if they act this role to the hilt.

When a Pete Rose or a Billy Martin shouts expletives at an umpire, they are praised for their fiery spirit. So is a Red Holzman or a Don Shula. But Connors and McEnroe are called the "bad boys of tennis," for behavior that would be considered mild in most other sports.

Some of the most demonstrative players—Ilie Nastase, for instance—get furious when

people walk through the stands in the middle of points or cheer when they miss a shot. These expectations are as anachronistic as those of tennis commentators who expect players not to curse.

There is nothing about serving a tennis ball or hitting an overhead that requires more concentration than shooting a foul shot or pitching a strike on a three-two count. Basketball audiences stand up, wave their arms and scream hysterically when a visiting player is at the line without anyone raising an eyebrow. If the tennis boom continues, the audience of the future is going to be like a Yankee-Red Sox crowd or spectators at a prize fight. The crowd-player interaction will be an essential part of the performance.

Tennis can no longer maintain order with "amateur" referees. If players are going to try to influence play by in-

timidating and browbeating officials (as they do in all other professional sports), those officials will need to defend themselves. If players get out of hand, officials should be able to forfeit them in a match and suspend them from future tournaments. And with that power should come sufficient training to command the respect of players. At a time when most players make their living from the sport, it's absurd to select officials from the country club circuit.

Even with poor officiating, today's tennis is a much more exciting game than it was ten years ago. The diverse ways people handle their anger and anxiety contribute to the visual drama of a sports event. It's no accident that the audience for tennis has expanded enormously with the rise of flamboyant players. CBS doesn't televise an event six hours on Saturday and seven on Sunday unless lots of people are watching.

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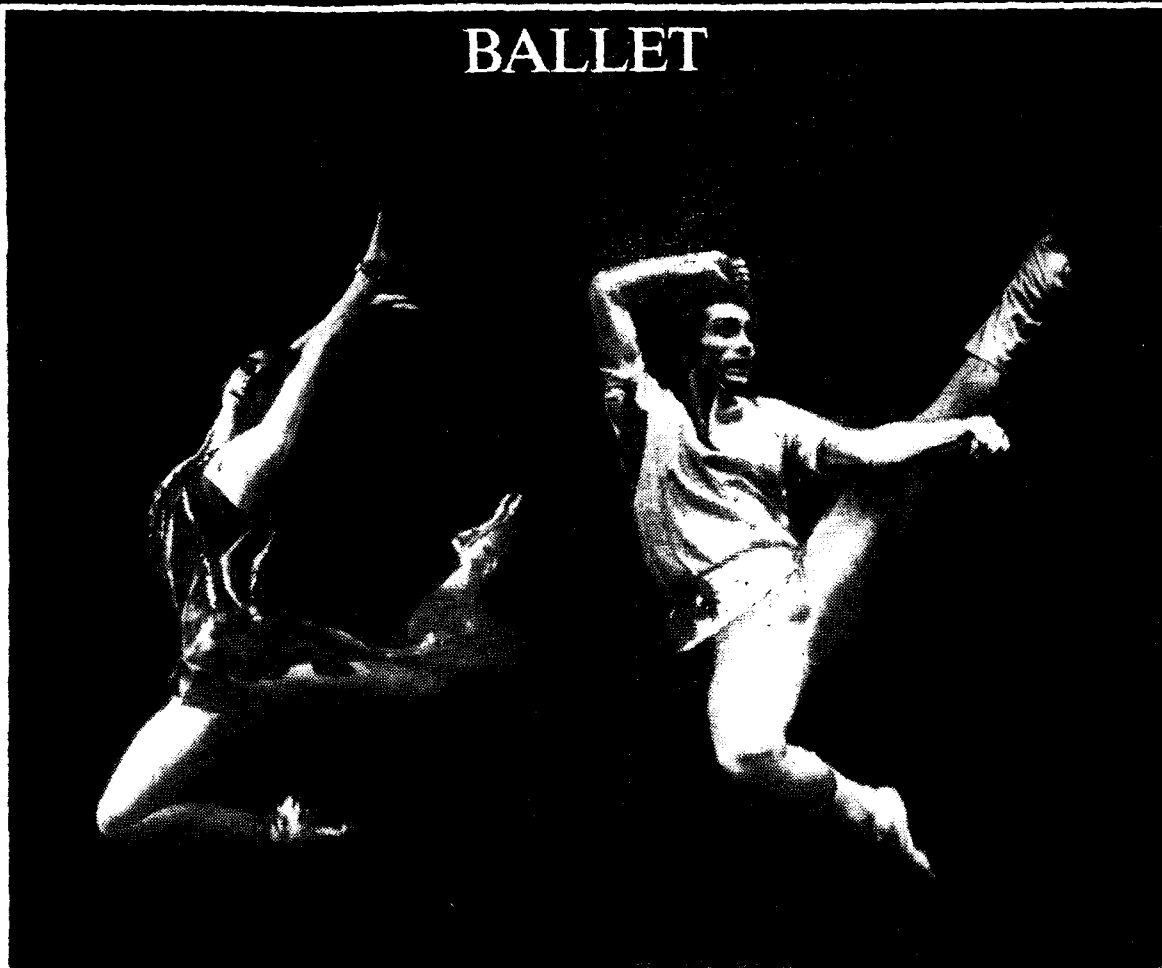
By Lynn Garafola

The drama at Kennedy Airport starring ballerina Ludmila Vlasova moved the visit of the Bolshoi Ballet from the entertainment section to front page headlines. Offstage drama aside, the visit of the 300-strong Moscow troupe was more than the major event of a slow ballet season. This summer's Bolshoi tour revealed the Soviets' No. 1 cultural asset at a crucial moment of transition.

Sharp differences between the Bolshoi's Paris and New York seasons exemplified the artistic directions in which the company is being pulled. In May, French dancers saw a troupe headed by reigning prima ballerina, Maya Plisetskaya, and a repertoire featuring short works by French choreographer Maurice Bejart and Bolshoi principal Vladimir Vassiliev. Audiences in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles paid unsocialist prices (as much as \$30 at the New York State Theater) for a retrospective of five full-length works by company director, Yuri Grigorovich.

Spectacle.

Ballet Bolshoi-style is essentially dance-drama. As critic Anna Kisseleff has observed, the Bolshoi has broadened the style of classical ballet "into gesture aimed at communication with a lay audience." Unlike Lenin-grad's Kirov Ballet, home of Nijinsky and Pavaova, Balanchine and Baryshnikov, the Bolshoi stresses spectacle rather than lyricism. No other company stages crowd scenes with such conviction, and the dancers—trained in the Stanislavsky method—excel in projecting themselves across the footlights. Hallmarks of the Bolshoi style



Onstage-offstage drama

Spartacus is the company's signature piece. It was first performed at the Bolshoi Theatre in 1968. In this story of Rome's slave rebellion, the plot itself resolves the problem of individual versus collective consciousness.

Grigorovich's gladiators are thrilling in their acrobatic sword play. The choreography for the mimes stresses the grotesque rather than folkloric aspects of character dancing while his use of the floor (eschewed by tradi-

tional ballet choreography), like his overhead lifts, opens the dramatic space. Grigorovich deploys his shepherds and guards on the stage as masses, welding them with the principals into a coherent dramatic protagonist.

In *Spartacus*, as in other Grigorovich works, the female protagonists are conceived within traditional romantic polarities. Phrygia, the slave leader's wife, is lyrical and loving while Aegina, the emperor Cassius' mistress, represents the illicit sexuality of the courtesan. Like his 19th century predecessors, Grigorovich counterposes the twin faces of traditional femininity—virgin and bitch goddess.

Grigorovich's controversial *Romeo and Juliet*, the artistic high point of the Bolshoi season, avoids this pitfall. It is also, to date, the choreographer's most interesting experiment in dance form. Discarding the Renaissance trappings of previous productions, Grigorovich has distilled from the familiar Shakespearean tale an elemental contest between the lovers and a world in which discord prevails. Incomplete in themselves, the

characters are realized only by the chorus of dancers that magnifies their gestures and moods.

Official art?

Choreography has always been the Bolshoi's weak spot, and critics have been quick to attribute this to a lack of artistic freedom in the Soviet Union. An official hand could be detected in the happy ending of past Bolshoi versions of *Swan Lake*, and the isolation of decades has meant that aspiring Soviet choreographers have been out of touch with dance developments elsewhere. But from this remove, it is difficult to gauge the strictures within which Soviet dance artists must work, as well as the full range of the contemporary repertory.

The new *Romeo and Juliet*, like Vassiliev's choreography on display in Paris, suggests the Bolshoi is moving in a more experimental direction. Works by French choreographer Bejart have entered the repertory, and before his death, the possibility was discussed of having the Stuttgart Ballet's John Cranko choreograph for the company.

The Russians have always maintained a sharp distinction between ballet for export and ballet for home consumption. There is little chance Americans will ever see the Bolshoi extravaganza about the building of the Moscow subway that critic Walter Terry eluded his *Intourist* guide to attend.

Choreographic doldrums are not only a Soviet phenomenon, but the bane of most ballet companies. Unlike poetry or fiction, ballet is an institution as well as a creative art. It has roots in the opera house and a repertory that demands large companies and behind-the-scenes support. With few exceptions, ballet companies are simply too big and too bureaucratic to function as creative laboratories. Such is the dearth of choreographic talent that many ballet companies have invited modern dance choreographers, like Twyla Tharp and Paul Taylor, to "customize" works originally created for their own troupes.

If institutions discourage creative experiment, they do have the facilities to create superb

performers. The Bolshoi is more than a company. It is also a school that combs the U.S.S.R. for promising youngsters, trains them for eight years and brings them up through the company ranks. If critics were lukewarm about Grigorovich's choreography, they were unstinting in their praise of his dancers, and overnight names like Semenyaka and Pavlova, Gordeyev and Gabovich entered the vocabulary of ballet buffs. In sheer depth of dance talent, the Bolshoi surpasses almost every other company in the world.

Bolshoi's bad boy.

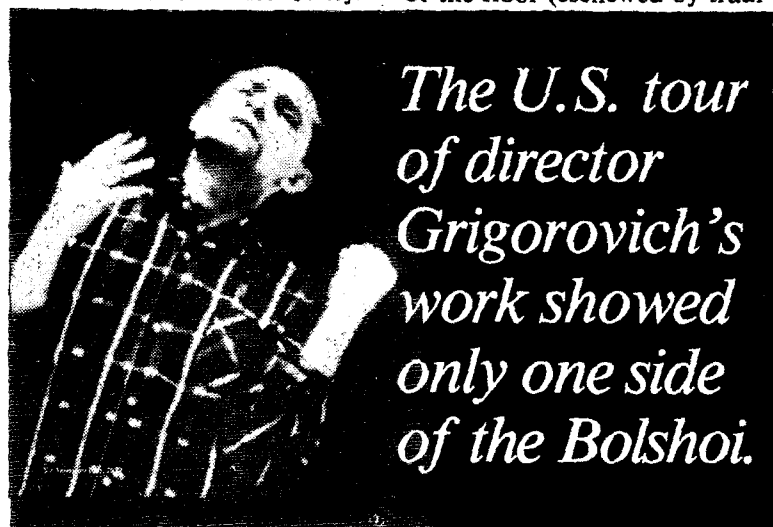
Also singled out was Aleksandr Godunov. A charismatic per-

former on stage, he was reputedly the Bolshoi's bad boy, a "hippie" who favored tight American jeans and hosted wild Moscow parties. Godunov's defection—the first in the Bolshoi's history—reflects as much the rift in the company as personal dissatisfaction. Joining the Bolshoi in 1971, Godunov was early singled out by Maya Plisetskaya. He danced with her touring group, and as her partner, in 1974 performed in New York.

There is no doubting, however, the attraction of what the Russians call the "long dollar" and superstar status *à la* Baryshnikov (Godunov's former *barre* mate). By the same token, Soviet assertions that Godunov was spirited away by America's ballet imperialists cannot be entirely discounted.

Equally, one can hardly fail to remark the ease with which Godunov found himself—within 72 hours of his defection—at the hub of New York's dissident network. His attorney, Orville H. Schell, besides being a friend of Cyrus Vance, serves as vice-chairman of the American Helsinki Watch Committee, which monitors breaches of human rights in the Soviet Union. Interpreting for Godunov at his press conference was poet Joseph Brodsky, who left the Soviet Union in 1972 and whose biographical sketch of the road to "dissidentdom" appeared the following week in *The New York Review of Books*.

Godunov was not the only dancer who remained behind. On the closing day of the Bolshoi's tour Leonid and Valentina Koslov requested asylum in Los Angeles. Unlike Godunov, this young husband-and-wife team are not among the company's top dancers. Nor, apparently, are they involved in its internal rifts. If the tour this summer revealed the Bolshoi at an artistic crossroads, the defections seem to indicate a problem of morale in the ranks. It may be awhile before Americans get to see the Bolshoi and its splendid dancers again.



The U.S. tour of director Grigorovich's work showed only one side of the Bolshoi.

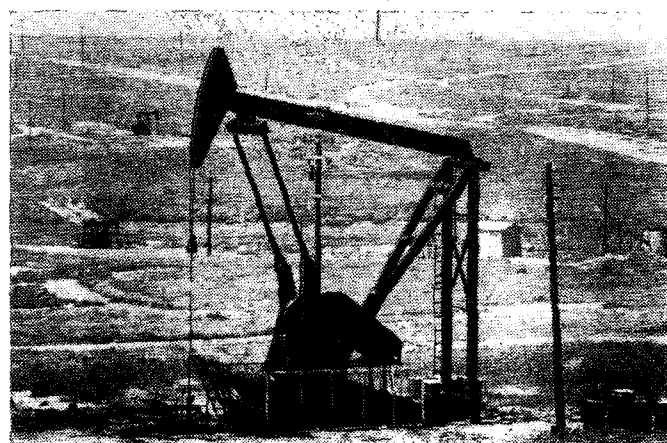
are vigor bordering on athleticism, a preference for high lifts and acrobatic leaps, and so-called "character" dancing, drawn from the vocabulary of folk-dance.

By and large, Soviet dance remains faithful to the romantic conventions of 19th-century story ballets. But in tracing Grigorovich's growth as a choreographer over two decades, one is struck by his modifications of the basic formula.

Individual vs. collective.

A central theme of Grigorovich's work is the clash of individual and collectivity, not simply as a plot device, but as an element of choreography. In these early works, the *corps de ballet* no longer frames the principal dancers as in traditional ballets. Instead, Grigorovich pits the Bolshoi's huge ensembles in dramatically compelling "folk" sequences against the lyrical solos and duets. In juxtaposing these different styles of movement, he suggests a larger tension between an intimate self-striving for choreographic realization, and a public one.

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ST 92



ROLLING NO NUKES!

SOLAR AGE

The star-studded MUSE concerts packed them in to celebrate No Nukes in the Garden—and then, even better, in the park.

BY PAT COX

Steven Tyler of Aerosmith, as teeny-assed as they come, comes on stage for the last no-nuke number of the week at the MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy) concert series at Madison Square Garden (Sept. 19-23).

Strutting in a brown suede fringed Western shirt, with tattooed arms and patched jeans, he eggs on the first few rows, Jagger-style, pointing, trying to seduce several victims on to the stage. Then he jumps back and joins James Taylor, John Hall and Carly Simon at a microphone, singing Hall's song, "Power," which MUSE adopted as a theme song throughout the week.

The song ends, and while John Hall yells, "No

Nukes! No Nukes!" over and over into the microphone, Tyler jumps to the level below the stage, whips off a long black scarf from his neck and hurls it at a now-expectant first three rows. Grabs, screams—somebody caught it! Everyone on the stage runs off, smiling, mouthing goodnights—except for Tyler.

Suddenly something clicks in his head. Working on a bump and grind beat with his back to the audience, with Russ Kunkel on drums in front of him, he whirls around, grabs the mike stand, bends it down to the left as he does when he's lead singer of a band some kids feel is greater than the Rolling Stones, gets on top of it and yells, "COME ON! LET'S GET IT ROLLING! NO NUKES! NO NUKES! NO NUKES! NO NUKES!" and runs off the now-empty stage.

In that moment, Tyler had started off representing the self-indulgence that has to be shelved in order to notice how the issue of nuclear power affects all of our lives, and ended up getting into the fight—even if no one in those first three rows would recognize "Back in the Saddle Again" if they heard it. Aerosmith is as necessary in this war as are James Taylor and Carly Simon and Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden.

As an audience, we had waited patiently all night for something like this to happen. Of course James Taylor was great. Of course Jackson Browne was great. Bonnie Raitt. Graham Nash. The Doobie Brothers. How could they not be? They did their best and most well-known songs, with the finest of back up bands and vocalists, roadies, lighting and sound people—all working for MUSE for no fees.

Over the five nights of the MUSE concerts, 100,000 people heard their greatest hits and those of Stephen Bishop, Ry Cooder, Jesse Colin Young, Phoebe Snow, Peter Tosh, Bruce Springsteen and the "E" Street Band, David Crosby, Stephen Stills and Nicolette Larson.

The \$15, \$17.50 and \$18.50 ticket proceeds are geared, along with the proceeds from an upcoming double live album and feature-length documentary film, to support the grass-roots anti-nuclear movement and its projects, to finance future concerts, and to maintain the function of the MUSE board and foundation. The movie's main fundraising function will probably be as advertisement for the album, since rock movies rarely make money.

The nuclear power issue was pervasive in the literature booths and on the T-shirts and buttons being sold inside and outside the Garden. Even slogans that were flashed on the computerized scoreboards during the set changes—"Phase out the nukes...Bring on the sun"; "A solar society means jobs, cheap economy and safe employment"; "Solar employs, nuclear destroys"—generated cheers from the audience, and only a few "this definitely isn't like the Who concert" remarks.

Even when a film entitled *The Atomic Age*, made specifically to be shown each night at the concert, failed twice because of technical difficulty, there was not a boo or hiss heard in the entire place. The audience responded with tremendous respect and enthusiasm for all the performers and their work.

But—except for Tyler's mini-non-performance at the end, something was missing.

Until the Sunday afternoon rally.

Imagine waking up to one of the most beautiful days you can ever remember and riding on a subway for twenty minutes to join a crowd of 200,000 people, and hearing some of the hottest political material going (musical and intellectual), for six hours.

The rally was ten times freer than the concerts. Why? Because there was no charge—just bring a blanket and sit? Because it was not only sponsored by MUSE, but also by a large coalition of East Coast anti-nuclear groups? Who knows?

But when Ralph Nader pointed to the gigantic twin towers of the World Trade Center and asked, "Who's willing to fight the plutonium economy?"—you knew something was happening. When Jocko Marcellino (the drummer in Sha-Na-Na) and guitarist John Amato, both representing the Fourth Wall Repertory Company Band, got up and sang "The crop is in/It's another one you can't eat"—you knew something was happening.

Everybody, audience and performers, made Sunday, Sept. 23 happen. This time there was an interaction and a meeting—and you got back on to the subway to return to your apartment more committed to the fight against this murderous power that can't be seen or heard. ■

Next week Pat Cox goes behind the scenes at the MUSE office and also talks to musicians about how this anti-nuke project started and what its goals are.

Lionel Delvingne